PUBLIC LIBRARY M. L.
FORT WAYNE & ALLEN CO., IND

cop.1
ANNEX
336.42 B21
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Fort Wayne and Allen County, Ind.

EXTRACTS FROM RULES

A fine of two cents a day shall be paid on each volume not returned when book is due. Injuries to books, and losses must be made good. Card holders must promptly notify the Librarian of change of residence under penalty of forfeiture of card.

EXTRACT FROM STATE LAW

Whoever shall wilfully or mischievously, cut, mark, mutilate, write in or upon, or otherwise deface any book, magazine, newspaper, or other property of any library organized under the laws of this state, shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

Acme Library Card Pocket

KEEP YOUR CARD IN THIS POCKET

L. B. 521-4187

DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS FROM POCKET

STO
ACPL ITEM
DISCARDED
ANNEX

THE ANTIQUARY'S BOOKS

GENERAL EDITOR: J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST

Rogeri ten de epo ~~hardingstone~~ h. est de ecta Egleshām.
Ibi fe. x. hide 7 dim. Tra. e. x. car. Ne in dnio. ii. car
7 xx. ulti cu. iii. bord hntes. vii. car. Ibi. cc. ac pa. xx. mn.
7 epa xx ac pastur. Ibi qda mano habuit. i. hid.
7 quo uolt trepoerat. Tot T.R.E ualb. x. lib.
Modo cu piscaria 7 cu pas. ualt xuij. lib.

Robt ten de inland epi. ii. hid in Wichā. Tra. e. uj. car.
Ne in dnio. ii. car. 7 iii. seru. 7 v. ulti hntes. ii. car 7 dimid.
Ibi molin de. xxx. solid. Valuit. lx. sol. Modo. c. solid.

Ibi fuer v. car T.R.E in dnio. iii.

Samuold ten de epo Stoch. h. e de feudo ~~comitis~~ Lincolie.
Ibi. v. hide. Tra. e. v. car. Ne in dnio de hac tra. iii. hide
7 ibi. ii. car. 7 molin. xx. solid 7 v. den. 7 v. seru. 7 xxx vi.
ac pa. Valuit. xx. solid. Modo. l. solid. Aluui libe tenuit.

In ~~Baldeuuone~~ ten de epo Iseuuard. v. hid 7 Bristeua
ii. hid 7 dimid. Tra. e. vii. car. Ibi. x. ulti cu. iii. seruis
hntes. vi. car. 7 ibi. i. ac pa. T.R.E. ualb. iii. lib. Modo. vii. lib.

VII. TERRA EPI BAIOCENSIS.

~~Epa Baiocensis~~ ten de prege Cobe. Ibi. e. i. hida
Tra. e. uj. car. Ne in dnio. ii. car. 7 ii. seru. 7 vi. ulti
cu. vi. bord hntes. uj. car. Ibi molin de. uj. sol. 7 xv. ac
pa. Silua. i. leu 7 dim tg. 7 dim lat. Valuit. vi. lib. Modo. x. lib.
Aluuin 7 Algar libe tenuer.

Epc epis ten ~~Dadintone~~. Ibi fo. xxx vi. hide. Tra. e. xxx. car.
In dnio fuer. xv. hide 7 dim. Frer in land. Modo fo in dnio
xxuj. hide 7 dimid. 7 ibi fo. x. car. 7 xx v. seru. 7 lxxuj.
ulti cu. x. bord hntes. xx. car. Ibi. iii. molini de xli. sol.

Ec. anguilli.

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST

BY

ADOLPHUS BALLARD

B.A., LL.B.

TOWN CLERK OF WOODSTOCK

WITH TWENTY-SEVEN ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.
36 ESSEX STREET W.C.
LONDON

First Published in 1906

AUG 9
477153

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

PAGE

1. THE CONQUEROR'S STANDPOINT 1
2. THE PURPOSE OF DOMESDAY BOOK 6
3. METHOD OF COMPILATION 11
4. METHODS OF STUDY 21
5. MONEY AND MEASURES 26

CHAPTER II

THE HIDE AND THE TEAMLAND 30

CHAPTER III

THE VILL AND THE MANOR 44

CHAPTER IV

THE HUNDRED AND THE SHIRE 61

CHAPTER V

SAKE AND SOKE 77

CHAPTER VI

THE MAGNATES 85

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

THE HUMBLER FOLK 107

1. PRE-CONQUEST DOCUMENTS 108
2. THEIR CONDITION IN 1066 112
3. THEIR CONDITION IN 1086 146
4. THE POST-DOMESDAY EVIDENCE 157

CHAPTER VIII

THE APPURTENANCES OF THE MANOR 165

1. THE WOODS 165
2. THE MEADOWS AND PASTURES 169
3. THE MILL 172
4. THE FISHERIES 174
5. THE BURGESSES 176
6. THE CASTLES 178
7. THE MARKETS 181
8. MISCELLANEOUS APPURTENANCES 182

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH 184

CHAPTER X

THE WELSHMEN 197

CHAPTER XI

THE STOCK—ELEVENTH-CENTURY FARMING . . . 201

CHAPTER XII

THE ENCROACHMENTS 214

CHAPTER XIII

PAGE
Values and Renders 221

CHAPTER XIV

The Incidence of the Geld 242

CHAPTER XV

A Typical Village 255

Table A. Possessions of Certain Landowners . . 262

„ B. Church Lands 263

„ C. Abstract of Population 264

APPENDIX

Transcription and Extension of Frontispiece . . 265

INDEX 267

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

PAGE

Plough 37
From the Utrecht Psalter.

Churning and Milking 170
From the Utrecht Psalter.

Plough 201
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

Harrow 205
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

Reaping 207
From the Utrecht Psalter.

LIST OF PLATES

Domesday Book (Folio 155 b, lower half) . . . *Frontispiece*

Edward the Confessor . . . . . *To face page* 3
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

Harold and Stigand . . . . . „ 5
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

William the Conqueror and his Half-brothers . „ 7
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

Cover of Domesday Book . . . . . „ 19

Chest in which Domesday Book was kept . . „ 21

Money of William I. current at the date of Domesday „ 27
Lent by the British Numismatic Society.

Plan of a Typical Village in Open Field . . „ 35

March: Breaking Clods. January: Ploughing . „ 37
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

City and Hall . . . . . „ 51
From the Utrecht Psalter.

The Great Seal and Counter-Seal of William the Conqueror . . . . . „ 85
Lent by the British Numismatic Society.

The Great Seal and Counter-Seal of Edward the Confessor . . . . . „ 87
From *English Seals*, by Rev. J. Harvey Bloom.

Map, showing Church Property . . . . „ 88

July: Wood-cutting. November: Burning Wood . „ 167
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

February: Pruning. October: Hawking . . „ 169
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

May: Shepherds and Sheep. September: Swine feeding in Woods . . . . . „ 171
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

Pre-Norman Tower (St. Michael's, Oxford) . . *To face page* 185

Bosham Church . . . . . „ 189
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

Church at Greenstead, Essex, in existence A.D. 870 „ 191

August: Mowing. June: Reaping . . . . „ 205
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

April: Feasting. December: Threshing and Winnowing . . . . . „ 207
From MS. Tit. B. v. pt. I.

Map of Islip . . . . . „ 256

PREFACE

IN the following pages I have attempted to provide an account of Domesday Book, and the various terms used therein, which will be of assistance to those who are studying the history of the place in which they live, and have no good library to which to turn. Domesday problems are so many and have been treated by so many authorities, that it is rarely that even a first-class private library contains all the works to which reference should be made ; especially when it is remembered that some of the most valuable studies on Domesday Book are hidden away in the transactions of local archæological societies. *Non cuivis attingit adire—Bodleianam.*

It is to help such students that I have restated the elementary teaching which is the basis of all advanced study, and is always presupposed in the valuable Domesday introductions in the various volumes of the Victoria County Histories now being issued.

The plan of this book is very simple. The statistics contained in Domesday Book were compiled in answer to certain questions accidentally preserved in the Ely Inquest,

and cannot be appreciated at their proper value unless these questions are constantly borne in mind. Each question, or group of questions, is therefore taken as the subject of a separate chapter. But Domesday Book deals incidentally with a few matters that were not mentioned in the questions addressed to the Cambridgeshire jurors, and such matters have been treated in the place they would logically occupy. Thus, while the jurors were asked, "What is the name of the mansio?"—and such question affords opportunity for dealing with the various terms that were used to denote areas of local administration—they were asked no questions about the hundreds and the shires; but these terms also denote areas of local administration, and would therefore be logically treated in connection with the vill and the manor. Similarly, the church is treated as one of the appurtenances of the manor. The answers to these questions bear a great general resemblance, but vary in details of phraseology; a study of these variations often throws light on the nature of the institutions into which inquiry was being made.

Above all, I have tried to make Domesday Book its own interpreter, and to exhaust its evidence and that of its subsidiary documents, before having recourse to evidence of other periods. This book is therefore a study of existing institutions, rather than an inquiry into their history.

On one point do I beg lenient judgment. It may be found that some of the figures I have ventured to print are slightly inaccurate; but a professional man is subject to continual interruptions, and I have had scarcely an hour for this

work in which my attention has not been called away to other business.

All students of Domesday Book must acknowledge their indebtedness to the writings of the three great scholars who have done so much to turn these statistics into matter of living interert—Professors Maitland and Vinogradoff and Mr. Round; my quotations from their works are very many, and their teaching has influenced me more than I have been able to express. If I have occasionally disagreed with one or other of them, it is with the greatest diffidence, and then only when I have been compelled by evidence which has apparently escaped their notice.

My grateful thanks are due to many of my friends who have given me generous help: to the Rev. S. S. Pearse, Vicar of Combe, who has not only read the whole book in MS., but has also placed at my disposal his own collections for the History of Combe, of which I have made full use; to the Rev. F. J. Brown, Rector of Steeple Aston, who has helped me in ecclesiastical matters; to Dr. Holdsworth of St. John's College, who has read and criticized my seventh chapter; and last, but by no means least, to the Rev. Dr. Cox, the general editor of this series, who has given me many hints and generous assistance.

I am much indebted to the kindness of Mr. P. J. Carlyon Britton, the President of the British Numismatic Society, for the illustrations of the Conqueror's seal, and to the same Society for the impressions of the Confessor's and Conqueror's coins; also to the Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, for the Confessor's seal.

I also desire to thank Mr. J. Charles Wall, for his faithful and spirited drawings from the Utrecht Psalter and the Bayeux Tapestry; and Mr. H. W. Taunt, for his loan of the block of St. Michael's Tower, Oxford.

A. B.

WOODSTOCK,
July, 1906

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

B.	Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum.*
D. B.	Domesday Book.
D. B. & B.	Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond.*
D. Bor.	Ballard, *Domesday Boroughs.*
D. S.	*Domesday Studies.*
E. V. C.	Seebohm, *English Village Community.*
E. H. R.	*English Historical Review.*
F. E.	Round, *Feudal England.*
G. M.	Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor.*
I. C. C.	Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis.
K.	Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Anglo-Saxonici.*
L.	Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angel Sachsern.*
T. R. E.	Tempore Regis Edwardi.
V. C. H.	Victoria County History.

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

DOMESDAY BOOK is the name given to two volumes of statistics relating to the kingdom of England, compiled in the year 1086. We propose in the following pages to study these statistics with a view to ascertain the condition of the country during the latter half of the eleventh century. But, before studying any statistics, we must first learn by whose order, for what purpose, and in what method they were compiled.

I. THE CONQUEROR'S STANDPOINT

Every one will remember the saying of the American writer that in every conversation between two speakers, six persons are engaged; in other words, each speaker possesses a triple personality—the man as he appears to himself, the man as he appears to his neighbour, and the man as he appears to his Maker. To fully understand Domesday Book, we must attempt to regard the position of William the Conqueror, not as it appeared to the conquered English, but as it appeared to himself.

On the death of Edward the Confessor, the royal house of England had almost died out: its sole representatives were a stripling named Edgar, and his two sisters. If at that time

the English crown had invariably devolved on the heir of the last King, Edgar would have succeeded and have been crowned King. But the English monarchy was then elective, although the choice of the electors was usually confined to the house of Cerdic, and a certain deference was paid to the wishes of the late King. For reasons which to them were perfectly adequate, the Witenagemot, which was actually sitting when the Confessor died, passed over Edgar, and chose as King, Earl Harold, the son of Godwin, and the brother-in-law of his predecessor, who, it must be remembered, had been recommended to them by the dying Edward. For nine months he reigned, and then, on October 14, 1066, died in battle, in a fruitless attempt to repulse the invasion of William, Duke of Normandy. The English Chronicle represents this invasion as an unwarranted act of aggression on a people who dwelt "quiet and secure," and such was the universal opinion of all Englishmen. But it was the opinion of the Duke of Normandy that he was merely asserting his right to an inheritance of which he had been unjustly deprived by a perjured traitor.

Edward the Confessor was notoriously a weak man, and many years before his death had promised his recommendation to the grandson of his mother's brother, his cousin, William, Duke of Normandy, with whom he had been educated. The latter was clever enough in later years to secure some vague promise of help from Earl Harold Godwinson, but the nature and date of this promise are matters of great obscurity. After a careful examination of all the authorities, Mr. Freeman thinks that it was made about the year 1063, when Harold was wrecked on the French coast, and was taken prisoner by Guy, Count of Ponthieu. Duke William, Guy's suzerain, heard of Harold's plight, and secured his release, but before sending him back to England, entrapped him into some oath, the sanctity of which was increased by the sanctity of the relics on which it was sworn. Possibly the oath was an oath of

EDWARD
REX
'BI

homage, as such oaths were taken on the slightest pretext—especially when one man had conferred a benefit on another—and might be nothing more than a mere compliment. Whatever it was, the Duke chose to regard it as an oath to support his claim to the English crown. No true Englishman would regard the late King's promise of nomination as conferring on the Duke any right of inheritance; but it was otherwise on the Continent, where men were beginning to consider a kingdom as a species of property which was heritable as other landed estates. So William had no difficulty in persuading himself that he had been badly treated by Harold and by the English people.

Domesday Book throughout reflects the position which King William assumed, that he was the rightful heir of the Confessor, and that Harold was a usurper. Mr. Freeman[1] shows that an intelligent foreigner, who knew nothing of the history of England in the eleventh century, would learn nothing from Domesday Book of the Norman Conquest and the change of dynasty. The state of affairs in 1086 is compared with the state of affairs on "the day on which King Edward was quick and dead," as though that day was the day on which King William began to reign. Whenever Harold is referred to, he is called Earl Harold, and it is really amusing to notice how "Comes," Earl, is carefully interlined over Harold's name in several places, *e.g.* on those pages which relate to the large manor of Hitchin and its appurtenances.[2] The Hampshire scribes, however, speak of two estates, Hayling and South Berton, which Harold took away from Leman, when "he invaded the kingdom," or "when he was reigning;"[3] and the Norfolk scribe similarly speaks of "the time of Harold;"[4] but, except on these pages, any event which took place between the death of the Confessor and the arrival of William is referred to as taking place "after the death of King Edward."

[1] *Norman Conquest*, v. 10.
[2] D. B., I. 132 b.
[3] D. B., I. 38 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 236.

Certainly the student would find mention of a battle at York,[1] of another at Hastings,[2] of a battle of Harold "contra Norrenses,"[3] and of an otherwise unknown naval battle against King William,[4] but we are not told between whom the battles at York and Hastings were fought, and except for the statement that Dover was burnt on King William's first coming to England,[5] and a casual reference to the time when there was peace in the land,[6] there is no indication that King William came in hostile manner. The student would, however, notice that in the vast majority of instances, a man bearing a foreign name had supplanted an English landowner, and this fact, coupled with the mention of the time when "the English redeemed their lands," might suggest to him that the country had been conquered by foreigners, who had evicted the majority of the conquered landowners, but allowed a few to remain on payment of a fine.

As a consequence of this assumption that the Conqueror was the rightful heir of the Confessor, and had succeeded to all his rights and privileges, Edward's subjects were his subjects, Edward's laws were his laws, Edward's lands were his lands, and Edward's revenues were his revenues. From his point of view, Englishmen owed to him the same duties as they had owed to the deceased Confessor, and first and foremost of these duties was the duty of loyal obedience. In this they had failed, both when they assisted Harold at the battle of Hastings, and then in the many insurrections which broke out during the Conqueror's reign. Domesday Book always regards forfeiture as the natural consequence of outlawry. It is uncertain whether, under the old English law, a conviction for treason involved outlawry, and therefore a forfeiture of the guilty person's lands. This much is certain, that the Conqueror considered that all who had been in arms against him

[1] D. B., II. 15.
[2] *Id.*, I. 50 a 1; II. 275 b.
[3] *Id.*, 177 b. 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 14 b.
[5] *Id.*, I. 1 a 1.
[6] *Id.*, I. 12 a 2.

hIC RE SIDET hAROLD
REX: AN GLORVM
STIGANT
ARCHI EPS

were *ipso facto* outlawed, and had, therefore, forfeited their lands to him. Hence he was at liberty to grant these lands to his followers. Hence, too, these followers were regarded as succeeding to the rights and liabilities of their predecessors, and when there was any doubt as to their rights and liabilities in 1086, reference was made to the rights and liabilities of their predecessors in the reign of King Edward. Hence we understand the term by which the English predecessors of Norman landowners are designated — the term *antecessor*, ancestor—as if the transfer from English to Norman had been nothing more than a devolution of property from father to son. In two passages the Norman is actually called the heir of the Englishman.[1]

Some of the English were allowed to redeem their lands and purge their treason by a money payment; at Saxlingham Edric mortgaged certain land for half a mark of gold and £7 in order that he might redeem himself;[2] and for these payments they obtained the King's writ authorizing them to remain in possession. Azor, the steward, held one hide in the hundred of Wantage T. R. E., but King William restored it to him and gave him his writ.[3]

The conquered English certainly regarded these forfeitures as unjust, but it was William's theory that he had done nothing contrary to the law, and it was the boast of his panegyrist that "to no Frenchman had he given anything that was taken unjustly from an Englishman."[4]

Dr. Adams says that it is an error to believe that the Conqueror considered all the land in England to be forfeited to him, and thinks that these payments "to redeem their lands" were nothing more than the customary feudal relief which was paid by a tenant to his new lord;[5] but we must take

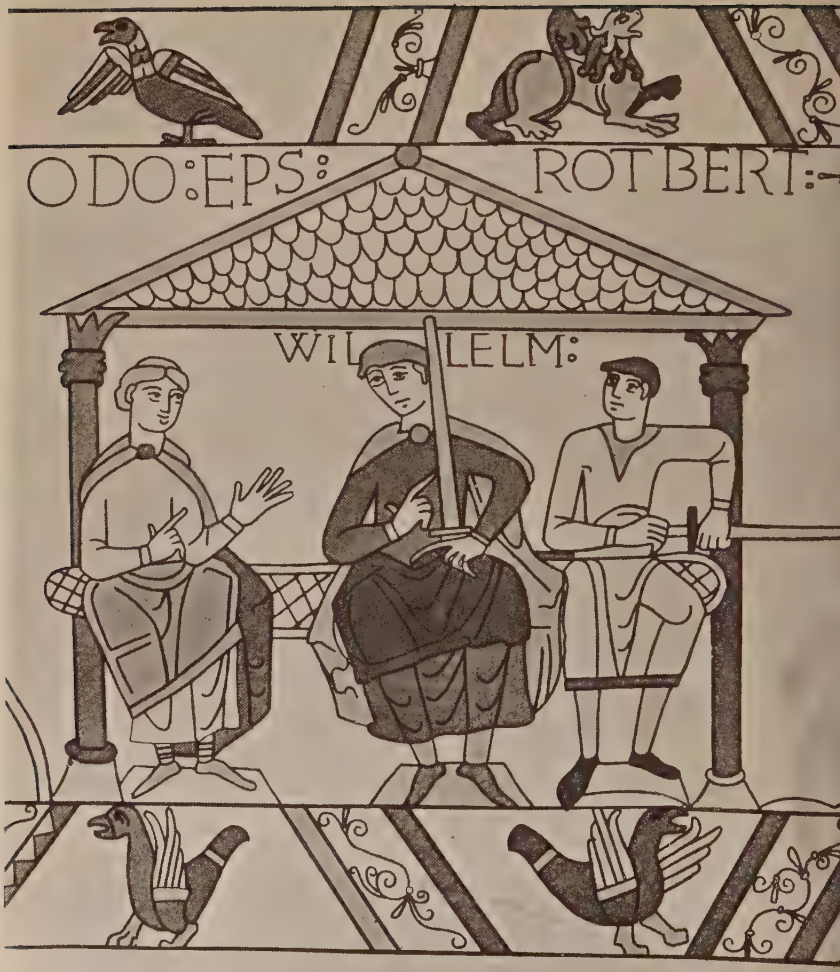
[1] D. B., I. 46 b 2; 175 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, II. 217.
[3] *Id.*, I. 62 a 2.
[4] *Orderic Vitalis, qu.*, Taswell Langmead, *Constitutional History*, 51.
[5] *Political History of England*, II, 12.

into account the fact that not more than 1 per cent. of the land in England was in 1086 held of the King by those who had held it T. R. E. or by their widows or heirs.

2. THE PURPOSE OF DOMESDAY BOOK

Chief among the royal rights to which William succeeded as heir of the Confessor and of the latter's ancestors, was the right to levy an occasional war-tax known as the Danegeld. This tax was first levied by Ethelred II., and the proceeds were used by him as a bribe to induce the Danish raiders to return home. The Chronicle says that in 991 it realized £20,000; in 994, £16,000; in 1002, £24,000; in 1007 it rose to £30,000; but in 1024 it had fallen to £21,000. Under the Danish kings it was increased to still greater sums: Canute received £83,000 in 1014, and in 1042 Hardicanute received £21,099, besides £11,048 that was paid for thirty-two ships. There is no record of the sums that were raised by this tax under the Confessor, who is said, because in a dream he saw the devil chuckling over the money produced by it, to have abandoned it in the year 1051; but it was levied at least three times during the Conqueror's reign, and in the winter of 1083–4 he exacted an exceeding muckle geld of *72d.* from every hide. The Chronicle does not state the amount thus raised, but there are certain Geld Inquisitions prefixed to the Exeter Domesday relating to the yield of a geld of *6s.* a hide from the five south-western counties, which, by all authorities, is considered to be the geld of 1083–4. These inquisitions state the names of all the hundreds in the county, the number of hides in each hundred, the number of hides in demesne, the amount paid in each hundred, and the number of hides from which the geld was not paid.

They may be tabulated as follows:—



WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND HIS HALF BROTHERS
(FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY)

County.	No. of hundreds.	Hidage.	Demesne.	Geld actually paid.	Hides not paying.
				£ s. d.	
Wilts	41	3946½	1252½	673 11 7	302
Dorset	37	2203	751¼	403 14 1	129½
Devon	30	1021	345	174 5 0	80[1]
Cornwall	7 (?)	400¼	120	28 13 6	110
Totals		7570¾	2468¾	1280 4 2	621

Some parts of the inquisition for Somerset are undecipherable, and the figures are therefore omitted from this table. The scribe puts the totals for Somerset and Dorset at £518 8*s.* 0*d.* and £415 8*s.* 9½*d.* respectively.

It is clear from these inquisitions that the demesne land did not pay to this geld, and the table shows that the total geld derived from these four counties was reduced by 33 per cent. by the exemption of the demesne, and by another 8 per cent. from other causes. If the same proportions applied to the rest of England, the King received little more than half of what he expected.

This great loss was doubtless the cause of the "muckle thought and deep speech" which he had with his wise men at Gloucester during the Christmas festival of 1085. Then doubtless he was told that many magnates had obtained reductions of their assessments, that many counties were under-assessed, and that some lands were altogether quit of this tax.

This is how the Chronicle records this gemot and its consequences—

"After this the King had muckle thought and deep speech with his wise men about this land, how it was set, and with what men. Then he sent his men over all England into each shire and let them find out how many hundred hides were in that shire, or what the King had himself of land or cattle in those lands, or what rights he

[1] Including the geld from 26 hides to which the collectors said they were entitled as a customary payment from 30 hundreds.

ought to have in the twelve month from that shire. Also he let them write how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops, and his abbots, and his earls, and, though I tell it longer, what or how much each man had, that was landsitting in England, in land or cattle, and how much it was worth. So very narrowly did he let them speir it out that there was not a hide nor a yardland, nor—it is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do—so much as an ox or a cow or a swine was left, that was not set down in his writ: and all these writs were brought to him afterwards."

From the wording of this extract from the Chronicle we can see that it was the incidence of taxation which the Conqueror had in his mind when he sent his men throughout England. He wanted to know who was liable to pay geld, and what each man was liable to pay; nay, more, he wanted to know if each man was fairly assessed, and, if not, what was his fair assessment. And therefore we must, in the first place, regard Domesday Book as a monumental valuation list, with notes on which a new assessment could be based.

"Every one who has been concerned in preparing a new valuation list or in assessment appeals, knows that every item is of importance in arriving at the proper assessment. In the majority of cases the actual rent or estimated letting value is taken as the basis of assessment; but in other cases evidence must be collected: the cost of a new building, the gross receipts of a railway, the trade done in a public-house, may all be taken into account." [1]

Similarly, the Domesday Commissioners omitted everything that they thought was immaterial, and inserted everything that they thought was material evidence in arriving at a just valuation of the property. The lengthy list of the byelaws of the city of Chester is given, not as a model for other cities, but that a record might be preserved of the shares in which the fines were divided between the King and the earl. When they recorded that the fine for bloodshed between Saturday and Monday was double that for a similar offence during the

[1] *D. Bor.*, 3.

rest of the week, it was not to point out the wholesomeness of the law against sabbath-breaking, but because the King received 40*s.* instead of 20*s.* "Murder, theft, and incontinence were regarded in Domesday Book, not as moral offences, but as sources of profit for the King."

This view of Domesday Book explains both its contents and its omissions. In a modern valuation list we are never told the numbers of the villagers' families, nor the trades of the villagers; we must not, therefore, expect to find information of this nature in the record before us.

A well-known instance of a search in Domesday for information which it does not contain is given in Pepys' Diary for December 21, 1661: "There I spoke to Mr. Falconbridge to look whether he could out of Domesday Book give me anything about the sea, and the dominion thereof." Such a question would have been impossible to a man who understood that Domesday Book was merely a valuation list. But mistakes of a somewhat similar nature are made to-day. In the spring of 1905 a well-known firm of auctioneers advertised the sale of an estate in Surrey; among its attractions were the old trees in the park, "one of which is said to have been mentioned in Domesday Book." It is possible that the Domesday statistics of this property mention the wood of the manor, but it is perfectly safe to state that there is no passage in Domesday Book referring to a specific tree.

It is possible that the King had also other aims in his mind. Under the English kings, all the inhabitants of the kingdom could be called out to resist an invader; the bulk of Harold's army at Hastings was composed of a levy of the southern counties; the force which Bishop Thurstan, a generation later, led to victory at the Battle of the Standard was a general levy of the northern counties, to which each village sent its contingent, headed by its priest. The Conqueror naturally wished to know how many men could be put in the field if occasion required, and hence the

numbers of households in the villages are inserted in our record; whether their heads held land or no, they were at all events liable to compulsory military service in case of invasion. Possibly the Assize of Arms of Henry II. was nothing more than a reduction to writing of customs that had been observed for centuries.

Yet a further reason for the undertaking of a task of this magnitude has been suggested—that the Conqueror, now that he was fully established in his kingdom, wished to know whether his gifts had reached their destined recipients; had any magnate encroached on his less powerful neighbours? Were there any English who had retained possession of their lands without his consent? Mr. Freeman, indeed, regards this as the chief object of the inquiry, but later authorities are against him. We shall see later that one of the questions propounded by the Domesday Commissioners for Cambridgeshire was whether anything had been taken from or added to the property then under consideration, and that to answer this question they inquired into encroachments, and reported the names of those who were in wrongful possession of any lands; but these inquiries have a very material bearing on the correct valuation of any property. It is obvious that if 1 hide had been taken away from a property that was assessed at 5 hides, it should in fairness pay only 80 per cent. of the geld it formerly paid; and, conversely, if the owner of an estate assessed at 10 hides had added to it 1 hide belonging to another property, that its assessment should be increased 10 per cent.

Professor Vinogradoff contends that "beside the collection of the geld, one of the purposes of the inquest was to provide the King with exact clues as to the personal nexus of the various tenements."[1] And in support of this contention he refers to the great labour which was expended in arranging the statistics relating to each property under the name of the

[1] *G. M.*, 292.

lord of whom it was holden. But the fact that the Cambridgeshire jurors were asked only, "Who holds the estate?" and not, "Of whom is it holden?" suggests that when the instructions to the Commissioners were given, the Conqueror had no intention of compiling a fee-book. It is, however, very probable that when the statistics were being digested, some official saw that the inquisitions provided the King with these "clues as to the personal nexus of the various tenements," and that the digest was prepared accordingly.

But geld was not the only income accruing to the King. He had estates of his own in every county, and he wanted a record of the possible income from these estates, so that he might have a check on his sheriffs. The pleas of the counties and the hundreds—local litigation—produced certain sums, and far larger sums were forthcoming from the counties and the boroughs; and Sir J. B. Phear suggested at the Domesday Commemoration that the main object of Domesday Book was to afford to the officials of the Exchequer a means of checking the sheriffs' accounts.[1]

In the following pages we shall proceed on the assumption that Domesday Book was compiled primarily for fiscal purposes —to show the Conqueror the proportion of geld payable from each estate, and the person liable for the payment; and that its fiscal purpose colours every page of the record.

3. METHOD OF COMPILATION

The more one studies the statistics preserved in Domesday Book, the greater is the surprise that they all could have been collected in the few months that elapsed between the Gloucester gemot of Christmas, 1085, and the Salisbury gemot of Michaelmas, 1086. Mr. C. S. Taylor compares this short period with the time taken in the compilation of the Return of Owners of Land, which was ordered by the House of

[1] *D. S.*, I. 35.

Commons in February, 1872, and was not published till July, 1875. But although the statistics were collected during those nine months, it does not follow that the digest known as Domesday Book was completed at the Salisbury gemot.

A careful student will at once observe that the counties can be grouped according to differences in the phraseology employed in recording their statistics. Mr. Eyton has pointed out nine possible groups, and thinks that each group composed a separate circuit, to which a separate body of Commissioners was sent, in the same way as to-day counties are grouped for assize purposes. The suggestion is so natural that it may be at once adopted, especially as, without some such division of labour, it would have been impossible to collect all these statistics within nine months. His circuits are as follows:—

I. Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, and Berks.
II. Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.
III. Middlesex, Hertford, Buckingham.
IV. Gloucester, Hereford, Worcester.
V. Cambridge, Bedford.
VI. Northampton, Leicester, Warwick, Oxford.
VII. Stafford, Shropshire, Chester.
VIII. Derby, Nottingham, Lincoln, York, Huntingdon.
IX. Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk.[1]

There can be no doubt about the south-eastern and south-western circuits: the language of the Shropshire and Cheshire Commissioners is almost the same as that of the Commissioners for Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, and it would seem better to group these five shires into a western circuit, extending along the Welsh border; Stafford appears to fall naturally with Warwick, Northampton, Leicester, and Oxford, into a West-Midland circuit, also of five counties. There is a marked similarity between the Hertford and Cambridge and Bedford Surveys, and an East-Midland circuit could be formed by

[1] Eyton, *Notes on Domesday*, 10.

grouping these three shires with Middlesex and Buckingham. In this way Mr. Eyton's nine circuits could be reduced to seven.

A document in Dugdale's *Monasticon*[1] gives the names of the Commissioners who visited Worcester and the western counties. For a long time there had been a dispute as to the rights of Worcester Abbey over certain estates in the possession of the Abbey of Evesham, which was eventually tried in a shire moot, over which the Bishop of Coutances was specially sent to preside. The result of this trial was communicated by the bishop to Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, Henry of Ferrars, Walter Giffard, and Adam fitz Hubert, brother of Eudo the Steward,[2] who in another document are described as the Commissioners who "came to inquire into the counties;"[3] and it is noteworthy that none of these were landowners in Worcestershire.[4] From the writ addressed by the Conqueror to Archbishop Lanfranc in the last year of his reign, ordering him to make the return which has come down to us as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, it would appear that the Bishops of Winchester and Coutances were the heads of the Domesday Commission for Cambridgeshire and the East-Midland circuit.[5]

When the Commissioners had been appointed to their various circuits, they would visit them county by county. The Cambridgeshire Inquest shows how their proceedings were conducted. There was evidently a meeting of the whole shire —a shire moot—at which would be present the sheriff, the barons (those who held direct from the King) and their French sub-tenants, and all those who owed suit to the hundred moot, and the priest, the reeve, and six villans from every vill, and these upon oath gave the information the Commissioners required. It is from the fact that all the information given in Domesday Book is the result of an inquiry upon oath, that Sir Frederick Pollock suggests that the proper title to be

[1] Vol. i. 602. [2] *Id.*, 601. [3] *Ib.*
[4] *V. C. H. Wor.*, i. 246. [5] *F. E.*, 134.

given to these statistics is the Domesday *Inquest* rather than the Domesday *Survey*.

The inquiry was made hundred by hundred, and a special jury was empanelled for each hundred. Thus the jury for the hundred of Staplehoe in Cambridgeshire was composed of Nicholas of Kennet, William of Chippenham, Hugh of Hesilinge, Warin of Saham, Robert the Englishman of Fordham, Ordmar of Bellingham, Adam of Burwell, and Aluric of Snailwell, Picot the sheriff, and the French and English. In five other hundreds of Cambridge the hundred's man—*prefectus hundredi*—was one of the jurors, and in two or three cases the record rounds off its lists by adding, as in Staplehoe, "and all the other French and English of this hundred." From a careful analysis of the names of the jurors in the Cambridgeshire Inquest, Mr. Round has come to the conclusion that half of them were English, and the other half were Normans: "Conquerors and conquered were alike bound by their common sworn verdicts."[1]

The same record gives us the questions that were put to the jurors—

"1. What is the name of the mansion?
"2. Who held it in the time of King Edward?
"3. Who now holds it?
"4. How many hides are there?
"5. How many teams—in demesne—of the tenants?
"6. How many villans[2]—cottars—slaves?
"7. How many freemen—sokemen?
"8. How much wood—meadow—pasture? How many mills? How many fisheries?
"9. How much has been added or taken away?
"10. How much was the whole worth? How much is it worth now?
"11. How much had or has each freeman or sokeman there?

[1] *F. E.*, 120.
[2] For this spelling, see Chapter VII. § 4.

"All this is to be given in triplicate; that is, in the time of King Edward, when King William gave it, and at the present time.

"12. And if more can be had than is had."

From the fact that all the statistics for all the counties run on approximately the same lines, we are justified in concluding that a somewhat similar set of questions was propounded throughout the kingdom.

The jury for each hundred would answer these questions for each vill in that hundred, and their answers would be noted down in detail, as in the Cambridgeshire Inquest. Sometimes they were unable to make any return for a particular estate: "No one made a return to the King's legates" of the manor of Woodchester (Glos), "nor did any of them [*i.e.* the tenants] come to this survey (*descriptio*)."[1] Once, at least, the owner of the property in question proved his title to the satisfaction of the Commissioners: Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, produced his charters, which testified that the church of St. Peter, Exeter, was seised of the manor of Newton before King Edward reigned.[2] In the Cambridgeshire Inquest we have what is probably a copy of their original returns set forth hundred by hundred and vill by vill. The Ely Inquest contains a copy of the statistics relating to the estates of the abbey of Ely in six counties. Mr. Round tells us that for their estates in the counties of Hertford and Cambridge, these statistics are an independent copy of the original returns; for their estates in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, they are extracted from the second volume of Domesday Book; while of the statistics of their four estates in Huntingdon, he cannot speak positively.[3] The Exeter Domesday contains a similar copy of the original returns for the five western counties, which have been rearranged under the names of the owners of the estates.

The jurors would speak to all these details from personal

[1] D. B., I. 164 a 2. [2] *Id.*, 101 b 2.

[3] *F. E.*, 135.

knowledge, and possibly they were assisted by similar returns which had been prepared by the reeves for their annual reckonings with their lords. We shall later refer to such returns compiled between the years 1125–28 for the estates of Peterborough Abbey contained in the Liber Niger, and to slightly earlier returns relating to the estates of Burton Abbey. Archdeacon Hale has pointed out that somewhat similar returns for the manors belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral, and also for the manor of Corfe Castle, were submitted on the law-days of these manors, and, as the old English word for law was "doom," he thinks that these returns were also known as Domesday returns, and that the title was transferred to the book compiled from the returns; and Mr. Freeman approves of this derivation. But the term "Domesday" is never found in the book itself. Sometimes it calls itself *descriptio*, a survey; sometimes *breve*, a writ. The render of Shrewsbury is given for "the year before this description was made,"[1] and certain Worcestershire manors are recorded in the "writ" for Herefordshire.[2]

When the returns had been thus compiled, hundred by hundred and vill by vill, they were sent to the King's house at Winchester, and there rearranged; it would have been an endless task for the officials of the Exchequer to search through all these returns to discover what lands any person held in any county, and what geld was payable in respect of these lands; and therefore the various estates were arranged under the names of their owners. First we find the lands of the King; then follow those of the archbishops, bishops, abbeys, earls, and lesser landowners; and at the end come two or three comprehensive groups, such as the King's *servientes* or serjeants, the King's vavassours, and the King's thegns, in which were included all those who held small estates with no superior but the King.

In order to carry out this rearrangement, one clerk had the

[1] D. B., I. 252 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 178.

original returns before him, and dissected them while he read out the passages relating to the property of the landowner whose possessions were being described. For instance, if it were a question of enumerating the lands of the Count of Mortain, in Buckinghamshire, the returns from the eighteen hundreds of that county would be laid before him in a certain order; he would look through the first of these returns, and extract therefrom the details of the count's estates, and dictate them to the other clerk; he would then deal with the return for the next hundred in a similar way, and so on till all the returns for the eighteen hundreds had passed under his eye; when he had finished with the Count of Mortain, he would look for the estates of Earl Hugh (of Chester), whose name follows that of the Count of Mortain in the Domesday Book for Buckingham. The reason why it is thought that the returns were dictated, not copied, is that the scribe almost invariably set the name of the hundred with which he was then dealing in capital letters in the right-hand side of the column he was writing; (the only exceptions are the south-western counties and Oxfordshire). In many cases the name of any particular hundred varies very considerably. If the scribe had once seen how the name of the hundred was spelt, whether correctly or incorrectly, it is most probable he would have continued to spell it in the same manner; but as the spelling varies, it is not unreasonable to think that he spelt it phonetically from dictation.

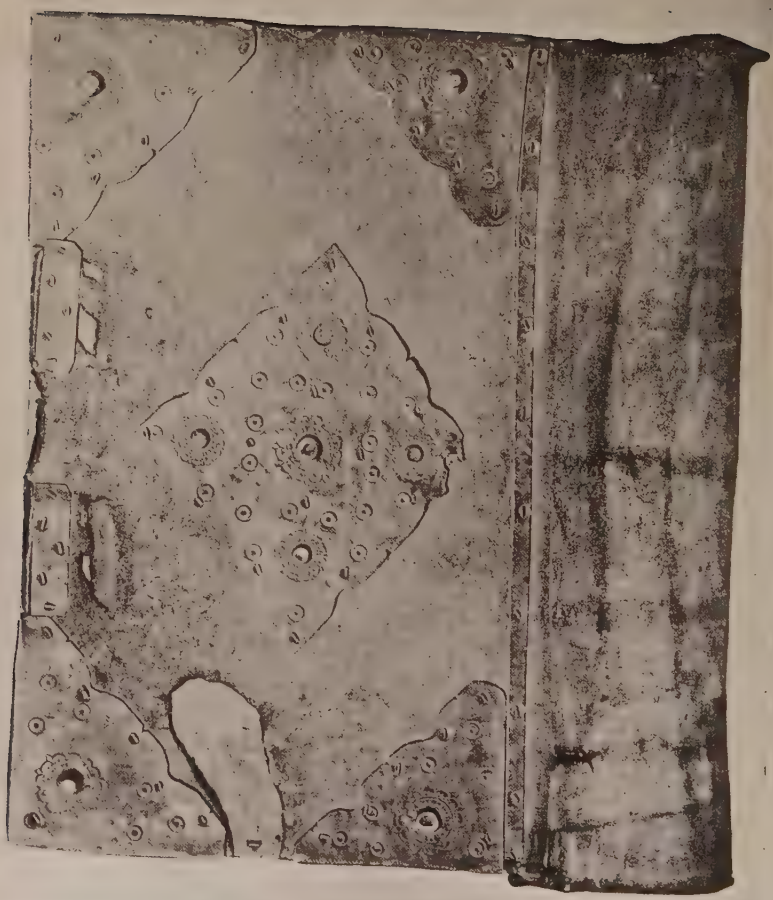
It is obvious that such a method of procedure was especially liable to mistakes, and we often find that particular estates, and sometimes even all the possessions of a particular landowner, were omitted in their proper places. In Oxfordshire, the omission of the lands of William fitz Ansculf and Hascoius Musard was apparently not discovered till the account of that county was compiled; the former was therefore written in at at the foot of fol. 157 b. 1, and the account of the latter's property stretches across the foot of fols. 159 b. and 160 a. In

other cases we find the marks ⊙ and +, calling attention to entries of omitted estates, and at other times these estates are entered in the margin; sometimes new sheets of parchment have been inserted on which the omitted entries are written; thus fol. 33 was inserted to receive the details of three Surrey estates which Hamo, the Sheriff of Kent, held under the Abbot of Chertsey, for which there was no room on fol. 32. Sometimes it is only a detail that is omitted, and in such cases there are often marginal notes calling attention to the omissions; thus on fol. 247 a 1 the numbers of hides and teams at Hustedone are omitted, and in the margin is a note "*rq qt terræ*," which means "inquire how many lands." Occasionally there are duplicate entries, usually of estates to which the title was disputed. Hardouin of Eschalers' holding of $2\frac{3}{4}$ hides at Swaffham is entered in two places: once it appears among the lands he held of the King;[1] but it also appears among the lands of the Abbey of Ely, which claimed that Hardouin held this land as its tenant.[2] Sometimes, even, lands are entered in the wrong county. The Oxfordshire estates of the Bishop of Coutances have accidentally slipped into the Northamptonshire Domesday.[3]

The liability to these mistakes was diminished by a device of the Yorkshire scribes in the compilation of a rough index, giving a list of the properties in each hundred, with the names of the owners of these estates written in over the line;[4] but there is no evidence of a similar index having been compiled for any other county.

For some reason or other there are more serious omissions in Domesday Book. London, Winchester, Bristol, and Tamworth are four boroughs that were omitted, and we have only incidental allusions to their existence. Wells is also omitted, and although the possessions of the Abbey of Crowland are described, yet Crowland itself is omitted. Ingulf the

[1] D. B., I. 199 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 190 b 2.
[3] *Id.*, 221 a 1.
[4] *Id.* 379.



COVER OF DOMESDAY BOOK

Chronicler boasts that he used his influence with the Commissioners to induce them to omit Crowland, but his tale is doubted.[1]

Besides rearrangement, other changes were made at Winchester. Domesday Book is in two volumes, of which the smaller—the second—relates to the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. The descriptions of these counties are full of detail: the stock on the demesne, or home farm, is usually set forth, and the details of the encroachments are most vivid. In Suffolk the names of the individual freemen are entered at length, and a comparison of this volume with the Cambridgeshire Inquest suggests that it is a verbatim copy of the original returns (with the omission of the names of the jurors) which have been rearranged in the manner before described. Mr. Round thinks that this was the first volume that was compiled, and that when the authorities saw what a bulky volume would be required if the whole of England were entered in such detail, they decided that the other counties should be treated in a simpler manner, and that much of the detail should be suppressed.[2] All the returns of stock were therefore omitted from the other counties, and consequently the vivid descriptions of East Anglian life are replaced by bald statistics in the rest of England.

The second volume differs from the first in form also. It contains 450 leaves of vellum, about 10½ inches in height by 7 inches in width, with 20 to 28 lines on a page. The first volume has 382 leaves, measuring 14½ inches by 9¾, with from 50 to 59 lines to a page. The entries in the second volume are written right across the page, while there are two columns to a page in the first volume. "The rubbed and worn look of the first and last pages containing each county appears to indicate that the returns for each county were kept separate for some time before being bound together as they now are."[3]

[1] Eyton, *Staff.*, 11. [2] *F. E.*, 141.
[3] Birch, *Domesday Book*, 20.

The descriptions of the counties north of the Thames are all (except Middlesex and Derby) modelled on the same plan. At the head of each county is a long entry relating to the county borough—the borough which gave its name to the shire. These borough entries vary in length: the account of Chester fills three and a half columns, while Bedford is summarized in seven lines. A blank sheet is inserted at the beginning of the Middlesex Domesday, as if the scribes had originally intended that an account of London should be there inserted. Following the survey of the borough are sometimes a few lines dealing with the dues paid to the King by the county as a whole, and then follows an index of the landowners in the shire, which in its turn is followed by the details of their possessions compiled in the manner before described. South of the Thames we find a difference only in the matter of the county boroughs.

With regard to the index of landowners in any county, students must be warned that the order in which the names of the landowners appear in the index often differs from the order in which they appear in the text of the Survey. Sometimes this difference is very material. In the index of Leicestershire owners, Hugh, Earl of Chester, is No. 13; but in the actual Survey his name was omitted in its proper place, and he appears as No. 43.

For centuries these two volumes were kept, with the other records of the Exchequer, at Winchester, under three locks and keys, in the charge of the Auditor, Chamberlains, and Deputy-Chamberlains of the Exchequer, until in 1698 they were removed to the Chapter House at Westminster; since 1857 they have been deposited in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane.

By order of the Record Commission they were printed from a specially cut fount of type, in 1783, at a cost of £38,000, but the type was destroyed in the fire at Mr. Nicholl's printing-office in 1808. The work was carried out

CHEST IN WHICH DOMESDAY BOOK WAS KEPT

under the supervision of Sir Henry Ellis, whose indices are invaluable, though much of the matter contained in his introduction has been superseded by subsequent investigation. In 1816 the Record Commission published a further volume, containing the Ely Inquest, the Exeter Domesday, a survey of Winchester under Henry I., and the Boldon Book ; but the Cambridgeshire Inquest was not printed till 1870, when Mr. Hamilton edited it, and collated it with the Exchequer Domesday.

Owing to the development of photography, and the introduction of the process of photo-zincography by Sir Henry James, the Director of the Ordnance Survey, facsimile reproductions of the surveys of the various counties are now within the reach of most pockets. These facsimiles should always be consulted, for they reveal points that are not shown in the printed edition ; for instance, the insertion of the lands of William fitz Ansculf, on fol. 157 b 1, is seen at a glance at the facsimile, while the printed edition gives no indication that the entries were omitted and afterwards inserted. The handwriting of Domesday is easily read after a few lessons ; and with the aid now given to students in such works as Martin's *Record Interpreter*, the contractions should be mastered in a very short time.

It will probably be of assistance to some students if we transcribe and extend the page of which a facsimile is given as a frontispiece to this volume.[1]

4. METHODS OF STUDY

We propose in the following pages to take the various questions propounded to the Cambridgeshire jurors, and by a comparison of the answers given to them, as these answers are digested in Domesday Book, to endeavour to ascertain the meanings of the technical terms employed, and the nature of the institutions represented by these terms.

[1] See Appendix.

But it must be remembered that statistics show society in a state of rest. A rate-book gives certain statistics of the present condition of a village; it tells the names of the present inhabitants who are householders, the values of their houses, and the areas of their farms; but it gives no hint of the new houses that have been built, of those that have fallen into decay, of the families who have left the village, or of the farms that have been consolidated. From it you learn nothing of the forces that are making for the depopulation of the villages or for the growth of the large towns. If these changes are to be studied, the rate-book of to-day must be compared with the rate-book of twenty years ago.

Domesday Book gives statistics for two periods: for "the day on which King Edward was quick and dead," January 5, 1066, and for the time at which the inquiry was held, the year 1086; so that something can be learnt of the forces that were exerting themselves during the reign of the Conqueror. But it tells of no other forces. Like a rate-book, it takes existing institutions as *faits accomplis*, and does not even hint at the long, slow, and often painful processes by which these institutions have been evolved.

The ordinary tourist, who has no knowledge of architecture, visits a cathedral, and pronounces it very beautiful; but he knows nothing, and can understand nothing, of the generations of workmen who have contributed towards its beauty. The Norman arches, the Early English windows, the Perpendicular clerestory, have no meaning for him. Similarly, the Norman invaders found in this country certain institutions to which they gave the name of "manor," "hundred," and "county." They found certain classes of men, to whom they applied the terms of "villans," "bordars," "freemen, and "sokemen." They accepted these institutions and these classes of men, and asked no question as to the manner in which they had been evolved.

In these pages we shall follow their example, and study

these institutions and classes of society as they existed in the years 1066 and 1086. Some reference to their history must occasionally be made; but, as a general rule, that history will be disregarded, and left to those writers whose aim is to discuss the dynamics of society.

To-day, when a Government Department asks for a sheet of statistics, it sends with its demand a paper of instructions, defining the technical terms employed. Every clerk to a Board of Guardians has every half-year to furnish to the Local Government Board statistics of the amount expended by his union in in-maintenance and out-relief; but notes appended to the returns explain these terms. To persons who are ignorant of their precise meaning, these returns are very misleading. The ordinary man would consider that under the heading "in-maintenance" would be included all the expenses of the workhouse—the cost of the food and fuel, the cost of buildings, repairs, and stationery, and the salaries of the staff; but for the purposes of this return the term is confined to the cost of provisions, and the necessary materials for cleaning, lighting, and warming the institution—charges which vary from one-half to two-thirds of the entire expense of the workhouse.

No one will, for an instant, suggest that similar papers of instructions were given to the Domesday Commissioners; but it is only reasonable to think that they had some sort of an understanding between themselves as to the nature of the institution they were to describe as a manor, and as to the lines of distinction between the various classes of men. True, the Commissioners themselves were strangers in a strange land; but they were assisted by jurors, half of whom were Englishmen, who could therefore be trusted to draw no distinctions that were not justified by English social ideas.

Hence, when the Commissioners drew a verbal distinction, some essential distinction must have existed; for instance, there must have been some distinction between a manor and a sokeland, a villan and a sokeman, or a sokeman and a

freeman. But, on the other hand, the well-known dislike of the Domesday scribes for tautology will warn us against seeing an essential distinction in every change of phraseology. But although the Commissioners may have drawn no verbal distinction that did not correspond to some essential distinction, it does not follow that the converse is true, and that they recognized every distinction that was drawn by English ideas or English law. The compiler of the (so-called) Laws of Henry I. states, "The division of the English law is triple: there is a West-Saxon Law, and a Mercian Law, and a Danish Law." And the Commissioners were obliged to force all the variations sanctioned by this triple code into the Procrustean bed of a statistical table. And in many cases, especially in dealing with personal ranks and distinctions, we shall have to make allowance for this necessity.

A second point to be noticed is that the Commissioners understood so well what they were talking about, that they rarely gave any definition or laid down any general rule. I know of only one general rule which is laid down or appealed to by them to justify their verdict on a disputed point. If to us their ideas sometimes seem undefined, this is due to our own limitations, and it should be our aim to put ourselves into their places, and to study their decisions till we see that the indefiniteness is on our part and not on theirs.

From these two positions we may deduce a third: Domesday Book must be studied as a consistent whole; the man who draws general conclusions from the study of one village only, or from one county only, will certainly go astray; parallel passages in the statistics of different counties throw light on one another.

One difficulty which confronts the student of Domesday Book is to know whether a custom defined in a particular passage is a custom of general application or merely an exception. To take a specific instance: Certain houses in the city of Oxford belonged to the landowners of the county

as appurtenances of their rural estates, and such houses were called "mural mansions," and were liable for the repair of the city wall. In other cities there were houses belonging to the landowners of the county as appurtenances of their rural estates: were such houses mural mansions or no? The position that I have taken in a former essay is that such houses were mural mansions, on the principle that an explanation of any phenomenon given in one passage should, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, be taken to be a general explanation applicable to all similar phenomena. On the other hand, it is contended that general rules were taken as known, and that only the exceptions to these rules were recorded. If the existence of houses liable for the repair of the walls was an institution peculiar to Oxford, some other explanation must be suggested for the existence in other cities of houses appurtenant to rural estates; but Domesday Book hints at no other explanation.

The Domesday student will not, therefore, be surprised to find that many points still remain in doubt. In such cases the evidence and arguments will be laid before him, and he must form his own conclusions.

A word of warning must be added: The student who finds a custom or a distinction existing both in the ninth and the thirteenth centuries, will naturally conclude that that custom or distinction persisted during the interval between those periods; but he must be very careful not to import into Domesday any custom or distinction of which the evidence is found only in the ninth or the thirteenth century. Such evidence may be properly adduced in corroboration of a custom or distinction of which the Domesday evidence is slight; but to import a thirteenth-century custom into the eleventh century may involve almost as great an anachronism as a picture of Hengist and Horsa arriving in torpedo-boats and armed with Maxims.

5. MONEY AND MEASURES

Although logically a note on the monetary system of the eleventh century should be incorporated in the discussion of the values of the various properties and the rents derived from them, yet, as constant reference will be made to money in the following pages, it will be more useful to consider this question among the preliminary matters that must be discussed before beginning a systematic study of the questions addressed to the Cambridgeshire jurors.

The Domesday denominations of money are "pound," "mark," "ore" or ounce, "shilling," "penny," "halfpenny" (*obolus*), and "farthing;" but the penny was the only coin then in use, and was broken into two to form halfpennies, as is shown by the examples in the British Museum; all the other sums were merely expressions of account. Then, as now, twelve pence made one shilling, and twenty shillings made one pound; and Domesday Book often uses the expression "a pound of pence." The mark of gold appears in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. as being worth £6, and the mark of silver was equal to 13*s.* 4*d.* By weight a mark was equal to 8 ozs., and therefore 1 oz. of silver was worth 20*d.*, and 12 ozs. would make 1 lb.; the penny was the twentieth part of an ounce. The render of the city of Gloucester was stated to be £60 of 20*d.* to the ore or ounce.[1] So that the monetary system of the eleventh century was based on the Troy weight of silver. Occasionally reference is made to other "ores;" the Cambridgeshire Inquest gives the value of Clinton as being 2 ores, but the Exchequer fixes it at 32*d.* So that here is an ounce of 16*d.*, and fifteen of these ounces would make 1 lb. And the ore of 16*d.* is also to be found in Derby[2] and in the county between the Mersey and the Ribble.[3]

Again, it must be remembered that there were two methods

[1] D. B., I. 162 a 1. [2] *V. C. H. Derby*, i. 320.
[3] D. B., I. 269 b 2.

MONEY OF WILLIAM I CURRENT AT THE DATE OF DOMESDAY

[LENT BY THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY]

of calculation. Payment was made by tale (*numero*), when coins were accepted at their nominal value; but often the coins were assayed and weighed—a process rendered necessary by the circulation of coins of debased metal and light weight. Money to which this process had been applied was called "blanch" money. At Bosham current coin of the nominal value of £65 was required to equal £50 assayed and weighed.[1]

It is only incidentally that Domesday Book gives any details from which we can deduce the purchasing power of money, and these details are tabulated below. For the sake of comparison, corresponding prices are annexed for periods before and after the Conquest.

	Circa 940.	Circa 1000–1050.	Domesday Book.	1166.	1189.	1260–1270.
						s. *d.*
Ox	30*d.*	30*d.*	2/- and 2/6	3/-	4/-	10 3
Cow	20*d.*	24*d.*		2/8	3/-	6 2
Pig	10*d.*	8*d.*	8*d.*	7*d.*		2 2½
Sheep	1/-	1/-		4*d.*		1 5

Columns 1 and 2 are taken from Chadwick's *Studies in A. S. Institutions*, p. 2; columns 4 and 5 from the Pipe Rolls for those years; column 6, from Rogers, *History of Agriculture*, vol. i.

No figures have been given in the above table showing the price of wheat, as a discussion of the measures of Domesday Book is first necessary. Our record speaks of "sextary," "modius," "amber," "mitta," and "seam," of which the three latter are the easiest of explanation. In the thirteenth century the amber was a measure equivalent to 4 bushels, and from a passage in a Kentish will of the ninth century—"thirty ambers of good Welsh ale, which are equal to 15 mittas"[2]—it would appear that the mitta was equal to 2 ambers, or 8 bushels.[3] In Domesday Book the amber and the

[1] D. B., I. 16 a 2.
[2] *Thorpe*, 460.
[3] Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, 68.

mitta are used only as measures for salt; and there are two passages on the same page which show that the mitta was equal to the seam. In the account of Maurdine[1] 9 seams of salt are valued at ninepence. In the next column, in the account of Marcle, it is stated that "5/- were paid at Wich for sixty mittas of salt;" and this equation is corroborated by a passage in the Register of Worcester Priory,[2] which, after speaking of the duty of the villains of Broadway to fetch salt from Droitwich, states, "Each horse shall carry a mitta," showing that a seam, or horse-load, was equivalent to a mitta. Hence a seam is equal to 8 bushels, and is the modern quarter. But Mr. Round quotes Hablington's statement that a mitta was equal to 2 bushels,[3] and Professor Maitland doubts the equation, 1 amber = 4 bushels.[4]

But the sextary and the modius are less easily explained. "Sextary" is used both as a dry and a liquid measure. Sextaries of honey and wine are mentioned as well as sextaries of corn; we also read of modii of wine and corn. That a sextary was an aliquot part of a modius is shown by the record of the rents of the shrievalty of Wiltshire, which included "2 modii and 8 sextaries of wheat, and as much malt, and 5 modii and 4 sextaries of oats;"[5] but in no passage does Domesday Book hint the number of sextaries contained in a modius, nor do I know any English text that gives this information. Ducange says that the dry modius of Paris contained 12 sextaries, and if this equation were adopted for Domesday Book, the quantity of oats received by the Sheriff of Wilts would be double the quantity of wheat. Henry of Huntingdon equates sextary with seam, in which case a modius would be equivalent to 12 quarters; and this equation is supported by the Liber Niger, which states that in 1125 the Abbey of Peterborough received from its tenants 65 modii

[1] D. B., I. 179 b 1.
[2] *Id.*, 34 a.
[3] *V. C. H., Wor.*, i. 270.
[4] *D. B. and B.*, 440.
[5] D. B., I. 69 a 1.

of wheat, 48 of malt and "grud," and 9 of oats; altogether 122 modii of corn, which were valued at £97 12*s.*, or 16*s.* a modius.[1] The price of a quarter of wheat in 1156 is shown by the Pipe Rolls to have been 1*s.* 6*d.*, and as malt and oats were worth less than wheat, the Peterborough modius may be regarded as being equal to 12 quarters. In 1086 the mill at Arundel rendered 24 modii of corn of a value of £14, or 11*s.* 8*d.* a modius, or (if this modius was the same as the Peterborough modius) a little under 1*s.* a quarter.[2]

The Pipe Rolls of Henry II. show that the price of a quarter of wheat varied in the thirteenth century between 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.*, and the decennial average for 1260–70 is shown by Professor Thorold Rogers to have been 4*s.* 5⅝*d.*

But the liquid sextary cannot be equated to 8 bushels, or 64 gallons. In one passage the sextary of honey is valued in Domesday Book at 1*s.*;[3] in a second passage it is valued at 15*d.*;[4] but in this latter passage the sextary at 15*d.* is contrasted with the sextary *cum majori mensura*. A few lines previously it is stated that T. R. E. £24 8*s.* could be paid to the Crown in lieu of 36 sextaries of honey, in which case the larger sextary would be worth about 13*s.* 6*d.*, and would be equivalent to between ten and twelve of the smaller measure.

[1] *Peterborough Chronicle*, Camden Society, 167. [2] D. B., I. 23 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, 69 a 1. [4] *Id.*, I. 238 a 1.

CHAPTER II

THE HIDE AND THE TEAMLAND

"*Quot hidæ? quot carucæ in dominio? quot hominum?*"

ALTHOUGH these two questions were not the first propounded to the Cambridgeshire jurors, it will be better to answer them first, as, without a correct understanding of the land measurements, or rather of the circumlocutions used to express land measurements, Domesday Book is incomprehensible.

First, let us see how these questions are usually answered. By way of example, turn to the first three properties of the Bishop of Bayeux in Oxfordshire [1]—

"The Bishop of Bayeux holds Combe of the King. There is one hide there: there is land for four teams. There are now in demesne (the land occupied and farmed as a home farm by the Lord) two teams . . . and six villans with six bordars have three teams.

"The same Bishop holds Deddington. There are 36 hides there. There is land for 30 teams. . . . Now there are in demesne ten teams . . . and 64 villans with 10 bordars have 20 teams.

"The same Bishop holds Stanton (? Harcourt). There are 26 hides there which gelded T. R. E. There is land for 23 teams. Now there are in demesne five teams . . . and 55 villans with 28 bordars have 17 teams."

From these three examples, we can deduce a formula of

[1] D. B., I. 155 b.

three terms which was adopted by the Oxfordshire valuers—that, in any given estate, they would return—

(1) There are A hides there.

(2) There is land for B teams.

(3) There are C teams in demesne, and the tenants have D teams.

This formula is adopted with variations in all parts of England, and it is from the variations that it can be explained.

The first term often appears under other forms. In the south-eastern circuit it reads, "It defends itself for A hides;" in the south-western circuit, "It gelds for A hides;" in the western circuit, "There are A gelding hides;" in Huntingdon, "There are A hides for geld;" and a fifth variant is found in Essex, "X held such a place for a manor and for A hides."

So that we can determine that the number of hides given in the first term of the formula represents the number of assessable units imposed on the property. The geld was a charge of so many shillings per hide. When once the hidage was known, it was easy to calculate the amount of geld payable by any property.

The hide was divisible into portions. Certain assessments are expressed in terms of hides, virgates, and acres. The number of virgates in a hide is nowhere stated in Domesday Book; but, fortunately, there are many equations in the shape of addition sums, from which the number of virgates in a hide can be easily deduced.

$$(2H + 1V) + (1H + 1V) + 1\tfrac{1}{2}H = 5H\ ^{1}$$

$$1H + \tfrac{1}{2}V = \tfrac{1}{2}H + \tfrac{1}{2}V + \tfrac{1}{2}V + \tfrac{1}{2}V + 1V\ ^{2}$$

$$3V + 3V = 1\tfrac{1}{2}H\ ^{3}$$

Similar equations can be found in the geld inquests for the south-western counties—

$$(21\tfrac{1}{2}H + \tfrac{1}{2}V) + (56H + 1\tfrac{1}{2}V) = 78H\ ^{4}$$

[1] D. B., I. 29 a 1.

[2] *Id.*, 39 b 2.

[3] *Id.*, 198 a 1 and 2.

[4] Ex. Dom., 14.

All these equations can be solved only by the formula $1H = 4V$.

In Devon and Cornwall the virgate was further divisible into four ferdings. The number of acres in a virgate is similarly never stated in Domesday Book, but there is one equation from which it can be deduced—

$$(6H + 1V + 7A) = (2\tfrac{1}{2}H + 9A) + (1\tfrac{1}{2}H + 6A) + \tfrac{1}{2}H + \tfrac{1}{2}H + (1V + 7A) + 3\tfrac{1}{2}V$$ [1]

hence $15A = \tfrac{1}{2}V$

and therefore $30A = 1V$ and $120A = 1H$.

But this formula will not hold good for the whole of England. In Wilts we find a virgate of 10 acres, and therefore a hide of 40 acres.[2] And it would seem as though a Sussex hide sometimes contained 8 virgates.

We cannot, however, be too much on our guard against considering these geld acres as statute acres. The geld hide of Domesday Book (*i.e.* the hide in the first term of this formula) was merely notional, not areal.

But every notion represents some reality, and we must, therefore, inquire what was the reality represented by the notional geld hide. To this question many answers have been returned, of which one of the most noteworthy is the Rev. C. S. Taylor's paper on the "Pre-Domesday Hide in Gloucestershire," in the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society.[3]

When King Alfred translated Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* into English, he used the term "hide" as equivalent to Bede's "possessio unius familiæ." Thus, where Bede wrote "donavit terram 87 familiarum," Alfred wrote "sealde 87 hida landes," showing that he considered the hide to be a family holding. Turning to the charters and grants of the English Kings, we find that the areas of the estates are expressed by such

[1] D. B., I. 198 a 2. [2] 17 *E. H. R.*, 280.

[3] Vol. 18, p. 288.

terms as "terram duarum manentium," "terram duarum aratrum," "mansæ, cassati, mansiunculæ," etc. Mr. Taylor has compared the Domesday record of the possessions of Bath and Worcester Abbeys with the charters conferring these estates on the abbeys, and finds that in the case of nineteen out of twenty-six estates granted by charters dating from 676 to 970, the number of Domesday hides agrees with the number of family holdings granted by the charters.

The Chartulary of Abingdon Abbey[1] contains a charter of 947, by which Edward the Elder granted to the abbey "bis denas mansas, quod Anglice dicitur 20 hida" at Washington, showing that "hide" was the recognized equivalent of these Latin terms.

This identity being shown, the number of geld hides in Domesday will represent the number of family holdings (each employing one plough-team) on a given estate at some period before the Conquest, and, as custom is the essence of early jurisprudence, when once the area of the estate had been estimated at a certain number of family holdings, that estimation would be stereotyped for all time until some strong power from outside should upset it. But other scholars, as we shall see later, think that the hide was an assessable unit—a notional area—from the very beginning.

Passing on to the third term in the formula, a little consideration will show that in stating the number of teams actually employed on the estate, the jurors are giving a rough estimate of the land actually cultivated. This deduction is only reasonable. No farmer will keep on his farm more teams than he can profitably use. If he can do all his ploughing with three teams, he will not keep four; the horses or oxen that are not constantly employed will be eating their heads off; and if this is true in the twentieth century, much more would it be true in the eleventh century, when the entire absence of winter keep other than the hay grown on a very

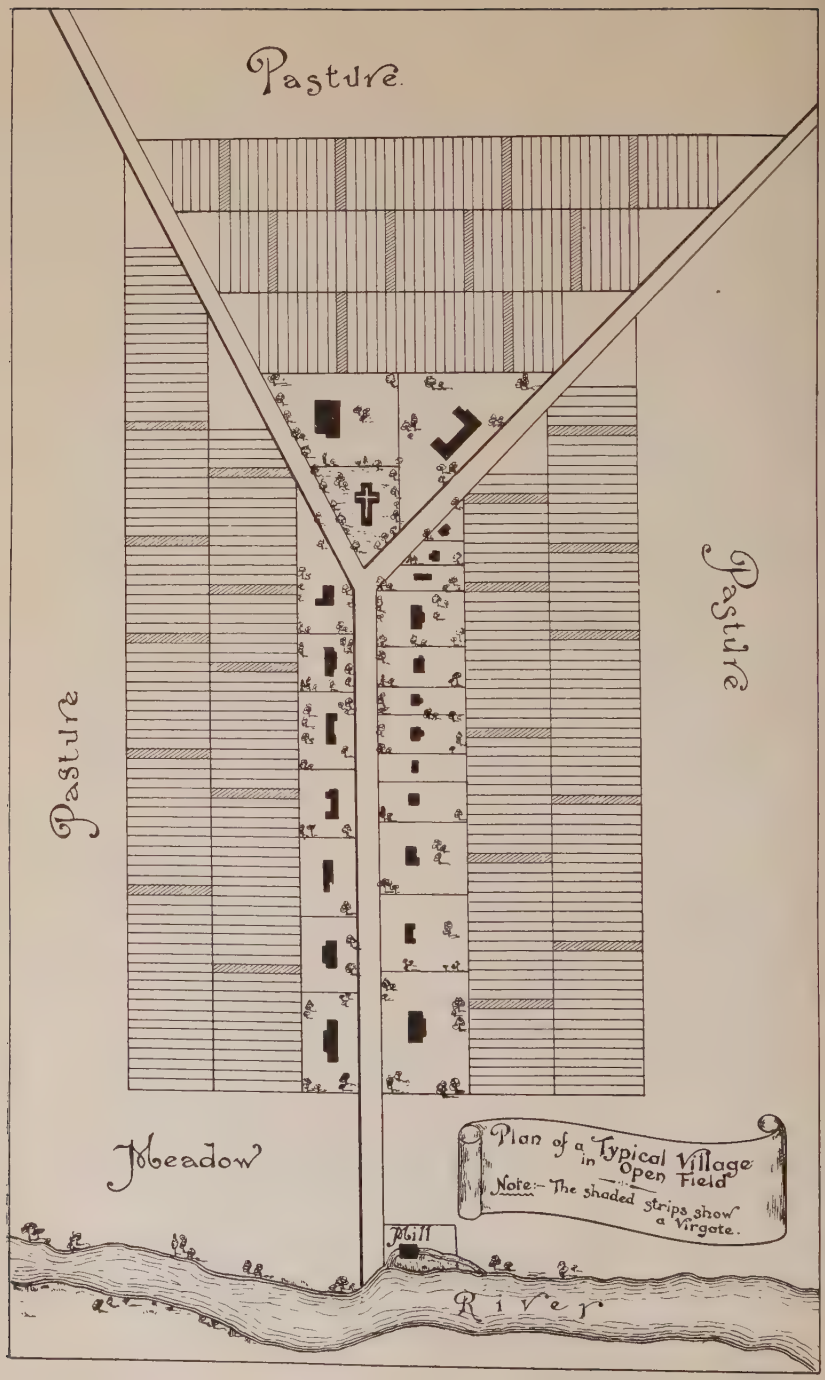
[1] Vol. i. p. 141.

restricted area of meadow, would place great difficulties in the way of a man who thought of keeping more teams than were absolutely necessary for his work. We may, therefore, provisionally interpret the third term of the formula to mean that the area under cultivation, whether in demesne or in the occupation of tenants, was cultivated by C + D teams.

At present we have no idea of the area represented by a teamland. How much land could be cultivated by one team in one year? First, what was the number of beasts composing a team? This number is easily ascertainable for Cambridgeshire. A comparison of parallel passages in the Exchequer Domesday, the Cambridgeshire Inquest, and the Ely Inquest shows many instances where the compiler of one record states, "There is land for a half or a quarter of a team," and the compiler of another says, "There is land for four or two oxen," as though it were a matter of indifference whether the area were expressed in terms of teams or oxen, and showing that in that county, at all events, the plough-team was composed of eight oxen.[1] This equation is implied in other counties, and it is only reasonable to suppose that the Commissioners considered that a team was composed of the same number of oxen in all parts of the country; otherwise those who used Domesday Book would have required a table, showing the number of oxen in a team in the different counties.

Documents of the thirteenth century, quoted by Mr. Seebohm, show that at that time the average area allotted to each manorial team of eight oxen was a hide—an areal hide—of 120 so-called acres, scattered over the open fields of the manor. Since the publication of his work on the *English Village Community*, every historical student knows the main features of the open or common field system; that all the cultivated land of a manor was divided into two or three fields, one of which lay fallow every year; in a two-field manor, the fields were cultivated in alternate years; in

[1] *F. E.*, 35.


Pasture
Pasture
Pasture
Meadow
Mill
River
Plan of a Typical Village in Open Field
Note:- The shaded strips show a Virgate.

477153

a three-field manor, each field lay fallow every third year, and the other fields were sown, the one that had been fallow the preceding year with wheat or winter corn, and the other with barley or oats or spring corn. The flocks and herds of the villagers fed over these fields between one harvest and the next ploughing, and also over the waste of the manor. The two remarkable features of this system, which is even now to be found in certain remote corners of the country, were, that these fields were cut up into broad strips, called furlongs, or shots, which in their turn were subdivided into smaller strips, which were called acres, but were usually the area that could be ploughed by one team in a day; and that the strips in the occupation of any tenant were scattered all over the field, so that he often had a long journey to make from one strip to another. One passage in Domesday Book refers to this system: at Garsington (Oxon) "there was one hide of inland, . . . which lies among the King's land in parcels *(particulatim)*,"[1] and Mr. Seebohm has shown that this system existed in England from the earliest times. He also tells that on the division of the open fields there were often odd corners which could not be ploughed, and were known as "no man's land." Domesday Book records that King William had 12½ acres of no man's land in Middlesex.[2] Professor Maitland has shown from existing maps, some of them three centuries old, that these so-called acres were often less than a statute acre, and in many cases were often only two or three roods in extent. Mr. Seebohm also shows that in the thirteenth century an areal hide was divisible into 4 virgates, or yardlands, and that the tenant of a virgate was expected to provide a couple of oxen for the manorial team for use on the demesne farm; and further, that it was part of the duty of the tenants to assist in ploughing their lord's demesne.

It is possible that traces of this agricultural co-operation can be found in Domesday Book, for the Middlesex

[1] D. B., 156 b 2.

[2] *Id.*, 127 a 1.

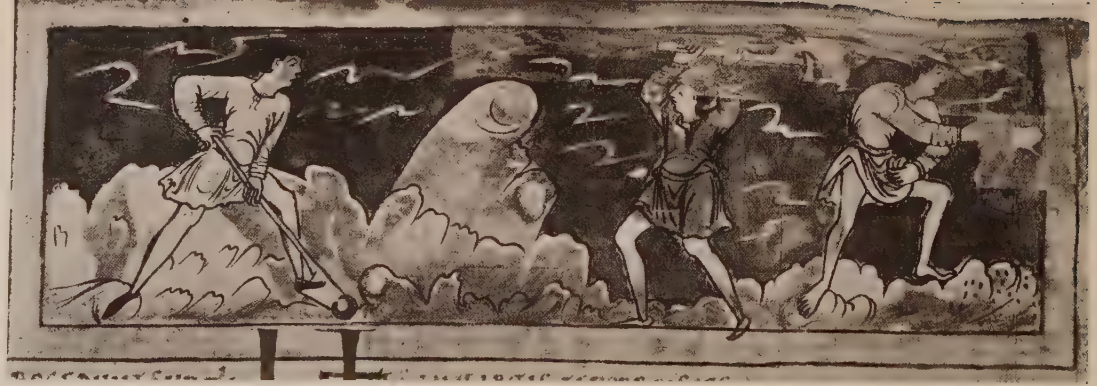
Commissioners give the cultivated areas, not only in terms of teams, but also in terms of hides and virgates. One of the best examples is at Laleham [1]—

"Robert Blund holds in Laleham eight hides of the King, and Estrild, a monk, holds of him. There is land for five teams. In demesne are four hides and one team. The villans have four teams. There is one villan of 1 virgate, 7 villans each of half a hide, and 3 bordars of 1 virgate, and 3 cottars."

Now, 1V + 3½H + 1V = 4H, which is, according to Mr. Seebohm's theory, the area that ought to provide four teams of eight oxen each. But it should be added that the Middlesex instances of the villans' teams being equal in number to the villans' hides, are in great minority; but in treating these hides as representing real agricultural arrangements, we are following such scholars as Professors Maitland [2] and Vinogradoff. [3]

What we have learnt of agricultural co-operation will guard us against thinking that on an estate where the lord's teams were equal in number to the tenants' teams, the area in demesne was equal to the area occupied by the tenants. Supposing there was one team in demesne, and another belonging to the tenants, the area of the demesne would be 120 acres plus an unknown quantity cultivated by the ploughing services of the tenants' teams, while the land in the occupation of the tenants would be 120 acres. To estimate this unknown quantity we must know the amount of ploughing that was required of the tenants. The Ramsey Chartulary gives many examples of this feature; for instance, it says of Broughton (Hunts) that the demesne could be cultivated by four teams of its own, by two boon works, and by the customary services of the vill, which latter were equivalent to two and a half teams.[4] In other words, the ploughing services performed by the tenants, who ploughed once a week on the

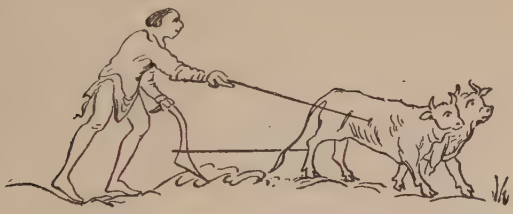
[1] D. B., 130 b 1.
[2] *D. B. and B.*, 478.
[3] *G. M.*, 253.
[4] *Ramsey Chart.*, i. 331.



MARCH. BREAKING CLODS

demesne, were equivalent to the work that would have been performed by two and a half additional teams kept by the abbot on the demesne. And there are some half-a-dozen custumals in the first volume of the chartulary, which state in terms of teams in demesne, the amount of ploughing work performed by the tenants. And a better interpretation of the third term of the formula would be, "There are C teams in demesne, and the tenants furnish D teams to assist in the cultivation of the demesne."

But because the tenants co-operated in providing a team of eight oxen for the cultivation of the demesne, we must not therefore think that they used so large a team on their own holdings. The illustrated manuscripts of pre-Conquest times



frequently show plough-teams of two and four oxen each, but never a team of eight. The Commissioners often record that certain men ploughed with one or two oxen, meaning that they contributed one or two oxen to the manorial team; nay, more, they record a monster in the shape of a *semibos*, half an ox, evidently meaning that the tenant of certain land joined with another in providing an ox for the manorial team.

But it will be noticed that in many places B, the number of teamlands, differs from C + D, the number of teams actually employed. What is the meaning of this difference?

Again we must consult the variants; but before doing so, let us remember that the jurors were asked to give statistics for three periods—for the day of King Edward's death, for the date when the estate was given to its present owner, and for

the date at which the question was put to them. In the statistics for Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, the number of teams, both in demesne and of the tenants, is given for "then" and "now"—for 1066 and 1086. And frequently "afterwards" is inserted to give the number of teams on the estate when it came into the possession of its new owner. At first sight it would seem as if the first volume gives these figures only for the year 1086; but a careful examination will show an occasional variant for the second term in the formula. Compare two consecutive entries relating to the estates of the Bishop of Lincoln, in Oxfordshire—

"The same Bishop holds Milton: there are 40 hides. . . . There is land for 26 teams. Now there are in demesne five teams . . . and (the tenants have) 19 teams.

"The Bishop himself holds Banbury: there are 50 hides. . . . T. R. E. there were 33½ teams, and the Bishop found as many. . . . Now there are in demesne 7 teams and (the tenants have). 33 teams." [1]

Turning to Leicestershire, we find that the entries in which it is stated, "There were B teams T. R. E.," are almost as many as those in which it was stated, "There is land for B teams." We may therefore conclude that in the minds of the Commissioners the two expressions were identical, and that it made no difference which they used, so that the second term in the formula gives the number of teams employed on the estate in 1066. Possibly, in many cases this was matter of guesswork; but where there is a great difference between the number of teamlands (B) and the number of actual teams (C + D), it would seem either that some land had gone out of cultivation or that some land had been brought into cultivation during the reign of the Conqueror. Occasionally the teams are recorded for some date previous to the death of the Confessor.

[1] D. B., I. 155 a 2.

But this explanation of the second term is not adopted by all scholars. There are some who think that it represents a rough estimate of the land in the estate that could be used for cultivation, and that it included not only the land that was actually under the plough, but also that which, if the estate was properly cultivated, would be under the plough. They quote the variations between the Exchequer Domesday and the Exeter Domesday; where the former says: "There is land for 185 teams at Crediton," the latter says, "185 teams can plough this land." But is not the estimate that 185 teams could be employed best proved by the fact that 185 teams were actually employed there in 1066? The jurors were asked for facts, not estimates: what was the number of teams T. R. E.? And if, in answering this question, their memories failed them, and they were not quite accurate, yet they intended to be accurate, and to give facts rather than estimates. The jurors for Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk gave figures which purported to represent facts. Why, if they intended to give facts, should the jurors of the other counties be considered to be giving estimates?

In Middlesex there is often an addition to the third term of the formula in the form of a statement that "in addition, E teams can be made there," and in that county C + D + E = B; and a similar statement is often found in the Western counties, in which counties the second term is always omitted. After the statistics relating to the lands of the Bishop of Worcester in Worcestershire, the Commissioners add, "In all these lands there can be no more teams than are stated."[1] These three statements as to possible teams are all matters of opinion and estimate, but judging from the returns of the jurors in the eastern counties, they are opinions founded on fact—the fact that there were no more teams on the land in 1066.

As yet we have been dealing only with those parts of the

[1] D. B., I. 174 a 1.

country which were settled by the English. On turning to the shires settled mainly by the Danes—Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, York, and Lincoln—we find a variation from the usual formula. All three terms are found in the formula; but instead of stating the assessment in hides, the scribes for these shires stated it in carucates, or teamlands, and in all these shires (except Leicester) the usual form of the first term of the formula is, "There are A carucates for geld (*ad geldum*)." This carucate was divisible into eight bovates, or ox-gangs, showing the intimate connection of the unit of assessment with the manorial plough-team of eight oxen. In Leicester there was a hide of 18 carucates,[1] and in the county between the Mersey and the Ribble there was a hide of 6 carucates,[2] and it has been suggested that in Lancashire we have a case of the imposition on the Danish assessment by carucates, of the old Saxon assessment by hides.[3] The fact that the number of gelding carucates usually differs from the number of teams in 1066 and 1086, in the same way as the number of hides in other parts of England also differs from the number of the teams, shows that for these Danish shires the assessment was fixed at some period before the death of Edward the Confessor, and supports the proposition that the geld hide also represents the primitive family holding, employing one team of eight oxen. The counties where the assessment is reckoned in hides are often called the "hidated" counties, while the others are called the "carucated" counties.

In dealing with the carucated districts, reference must be made to Canon Taylor's theory that "the open field is the master-key for the interpretation of Domesday,[4] and that the 'carucata ad geldum' is not . . . the quantity of land ploughed in each year by one plough, but the quantity of land ploughed in one year in one arable field by one plough."[5] He shows

[1] *F. E.*, 82.
[2] D. B., I. 278 b 2.
[3] *V. C. H. Lanc.*, I. 271.
[4] *D. S.*, i. 140.
[5] *Id.*, 157.

that in the east riding of Yorkshire, as a general rule, the formula, "There are A carucates for geld; land for A teams," is found in those manors which were cultivated on the two-field system; and that a three-field system is implied where the formula is, "There are A carucates for geld; land for 2A teams."[1] But we must remember that Yorkshire had been wasted by the Conqueror, and that in no other county are the ratios between the assessable units and the teams so invariable as in Yorkshire; and although his theory may be adopted as showing the principle on which a new assessment was imposed, it would be useless to attempt to apply it to other counties, where the system of assessment had been existing for centuries.

The student will not fail to notice the existence of carucates in the hidated districts, but he will at once perceive that these carucates are lands that are free from geld. At Sherborne "the monks hold 9½ carucates of land which neither were divided into hides nor paid geld;"[2] and in the geld inquests prefixed to the Exeter Domesday, the hundred of Ailestebba (Dorset) was stated to contain "8 carucates which never gelded, and 73 hides."[3] Often these carucated estates were royal manors: Sambourne (Hants) was a royal manor, but was not distributed into hides,[4] and of the royal manors that rendered the farm of one night, it is constantly recorded, as at Calne, "It never gelded; therefore it is unknown how many hides are there."[5]

The assessment of Norfolk and Suffolk differs from that of the rest of England. In these two counties hides or carucates for geld are never mentioned; but in their place is stated the number of pence paid by each property when a geld of one pound is payable by the hundred; thus Babingley (Norfolk) paid *2s.* out of *20s.* of geld.[6]

[1] *D. S.*, i. 143.
[2] D. B., I. 77 a 1.
[3] D. B., IV. 7.
[4] *Id.*, I. 39 b 1.
[5] *Id.*, 64 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, II. 256.

We shall later see many instances of the privileged position of Kent. One of its chief advantages was the possession of a large unit of assessment in the sulung, which in one charter is stated to be equal to 2 hides.[1] One passage in Domesday Book equates four and a half hundred acres with $2\frac{1}{2}$ sulungs,[2] making a sulung equal to 180 acres. A sulung was divisible into four jugera, or yokes, and again we see the connection between the unit of assessment and the plough-team of eight oxen.

Yet another unit of measurement appears in the valuation of South Wales at the beginning of the Gloucester Domesday —the carucate of land as in Normandy.[3] Gloucestershire had been settled by the English, and was hidated; but the districts west of the Wye, the fee of Strigoil, were conquered by the Normans, who accordingly introduced the land measure with which they were best acquainted. Of those portions of North Wales which were valued as part of Cheshire, two hundreds were hidated and two were carucated, and the explanation of the carucated districts is given—that they never paid geld.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the circumlocutions used to express areal measures; but Domesday Book in many cases gives lineal measures, and expresses areas of pasture and wood by giving their length and breadth. Four units of lineal measurement are used by the Domesday scribes—the "foot," the "perch," the "quarantine" (or furlong), and the "leuca" (or league); as the word suggests, 40 perches made the quarantine, while 12 furlongs made the league. But the relation of the foot to the perch is very obscure; the English customary perch seems to have varied between 15 and 20 feet, according to localities, and thus was sometimes more and sometimes less than the statute perch. In passing, let us remind ourselves that the typical acre is 40 perches long by

[1] Vinogradoff, 19 *E. H. R.*, 282. [2] D. B., I. 2 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, 162 a 1.

4 broad; hence we realize why a furlong was so called—it was the length of the furrow; and the presence of small acres in the open fields may imply the existence of a small perch, perhaps a perch of 12 feet.[1]

When to-day we speak of a piece of land 2 furlongs long and 1 broad, we think of a parallelogram of these dimensions containing an area of 20 acres; but it is certain that such a geometrical figure was not in the mind of the Domesday Commissioners; they spoke only of the extreme measurements, and paid no attention to the shape of the area. There is a good example of this at Rushmere (Suffolk), where a holding of 30 acres is said to be 8 furlongs long and 7 broad.[2] A parallelogram of these dimensions would be 560 acres, and so it is clear that this holding must have been of some irregular shape, of which the extreme length and breadth were 8 and 7 furlongs respectively.

Let us therefore sum up our conclusions—

1. The number of hides in any property represents the number of the units of assessment imposed on that property; it possibly also represents the number of families, each employing one team of eight oxen, settled on that property at some remote period.

2. The teamlands in the second term of the formula represent the area of cultivation in 1066.

3. The existing teams represent the cultivated area in 1086.

But none of these should be taken as scientific and accurate measurements.

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 368–382. [2] D. B., II. 442.

CHAPTER III

THE VILL AND THE MANOR

"Quomodo vocatur mansio?"

"WHAT is the name of the mansion?" was the first question that was put to the Cambridgeshire jurors, who must have understood the meaning of the term. But the Exchequer Domesday uses this term very exceptionally. The best-known passage is that in the second volume, which states that the hide which Count Eustace held at Orsedd was not one of his hundred mansions.[1] The Exeter Domesday, however, uses "mansio" for every holding which it describes, only a few of which are called "manors" in the Exchequer Domesday. But in the statistics of the boroughs, "mansio" is more frequently used; the "mural mansions" of Oxford are well known; certain of the mansions in Stafford are definitely stated to appertain to places which can be identified as rural manors; three mansions in Rochester pertained to the manor of Alnoitone;[2]—so that the term "mansio" must have been a colourless term, which could be applied to any property varying in size from Crediton with its 185 teams to a town house in Oxford or Stafford. It may, therefore, be translated as "tenement." In one passage in the Exchequer Domesday "mansio" and "manor" are used side by side: "To this manor lay three freemen: one held half a hide and could depart without the licence of the lord of the

[1] D. B., II. 9.

[2] *Id.*, I. 8 a 1.

same mansion."[1] In this case the two terms are perhaps synonymous, although it is possible to translate "mansio" by "tenement." Another colourless term is "land," which is applied indiscriminately to all properties.

But while "mansio" is only exceptionally used, other terms are constantly employed to denote tracts of land—"vill," "manor," "berewick"—of which "vill" is the oldest. It is always found in the pre-Conquest charters, and was used by Bede. Its English equivalent is shown by King Alfred's translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* to have been "tun" or town; the meaning of "town" as an urban district is modern; Chaucer's "poore persoun of a toune" was clearly a village priest. From the charters we deduce that "vill" implies a tract of territory, greater or smaller, as the case may be, bearing a name of its own, and defined by certain well-known boundaries. But the vill was more than a tract of land: it was the home of an organized community, into which the latter fitted as a snail fits into its shell. Of the nature of this community much has been written; but here it is sufficient to say that its members were bound to follow the same rules for the cultivation of their land, and for the regulation of the pasture and the wood. Whether the vill was a two-field or a three-field vill, every landholder was obliged to observe the same rotation of crops, and to use his strips of land in exactly the same manner as his neighbours. A vill thus constituted was a fiscal and administrative unit. The laws of Henry I. provide that each vill shall be represented at the hundred moot by the priest, the reeve, and six of the villans.

Professor Maitland has pointed out that there were two kinds of vills—the nucleated vill and the vill that was composed of a number of hamlets. The latter type is to be found chiefly in those western counties in which was left a large proportion of the conquered Britons, where the vill—the

[1] D. B., II. 96 b.

modern civil parish—embraces a large number of hamlets of about the same size, one of which contains the church and gives its name to the collection. The nucleated vill is apparently the typical settlement of the English invaders. All the houses are collected round the church, and the fields stretch out from the village on all sides. The lone farms that exist are settlements of a much later date. To illustrate the difference between these two types of vills, he prints two portions of the Ordnance Survey. The country round Wallingford, on the borders of Berks and Oxfordshire, is taken as an example of a land of villages; and a district on the borders of Devon and Somerset is the example of a land of hamlets.[1] But even in the counties which are especially Saxon are to be found districts of hamlets. In the belt of fat corn-land between the South Downs and the sea in West Sussex, almost every civil parish contains a number of hamlets, some of which can be traced in the pre-Conquest charters.

The term "vill" is used in Domesday Book to imply a tract of territory with a name of its own. The Bishop of London had an estate at Stepney of 32 hides; Hugh de Berners held $5\frac{1}{4}$ hides of the bishop "in the same vill;" the wife of Brian held 5 hides of the bishop "in the same vill;" and there were other tenants who held land of the bishop "in the same vill." Here, then, is an extensive vill assessed at 50 hides, belonging to the Bishop of London, who retained a large part in his own hands, and granted the remainder to nine under-tenants.[2] Frequently, however, we find that a vill was a manor. In other words, that the same property could be called both a vill and a manor. This is the case when one person only is returned as the tenant of a particular area having a name of its own; for instance, out of 220 named vills in the Oxfordshire Domesday, 139 were in the sole and undivided possession of single proprietors, and in these cases the vill and the manor were coterminous. On the other hand, there were many

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 15.

[2] D. B., I. 127 a 2.

cases where a manor comprised many vills: the Abbey of St. Denys of Paris held seven vills in Deerhurst hundred, in Gloucestershire, but all seven vills formed one manor;[1] the manor of Leominster contained sixteen members, which are all named, and the whole was assessed at 80 hides, and in 1066 employed thirty teams in demesne, and 230 belonging to the tenants;[2] Robert of Rhuddlan held "the moiety of all the forests which do not pertain to any vill in this manor" of Rhuddlan,[3]—a record which conclusively shows that the manor of Rhuddlan included more vills than one. Sometimes external evidence must be procured to show whether the Domesday manor contained more than one vill. Thus the valuation of Pagham (Sussex) begins, "The Archbishop himself holds Pagham in demesne. It defended itself T. R. E. for 50 hides. . . . There is land for 30 teams. In demesne are seven, and 74 villans with 78 bordars have 23 teams."[4] But there is a charter of 680[5] giving the boundaries and enumerating the "territories pertaining to Pagham"—Shripney, Charlton, Bognor, Bersted, North Bersted, Crimsham, and Mundham. All of these vills but Charlton can easily be found on the Ordnance Map within the boundaries set forth in the charter, and, with the exception of Charlton, they form the present hundred of Aldwick. But Domesday Book mentions none of these places, which must, therefore, have been included within the Archbishop's manor, which was coterminous with the hundred of Pagham. A well-known example of the inclusion of a large territory in one manor is the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Farnham, which Professor Maitland thinks included the whole of the present hundred of Farnham—say 25,000 acres.[6] Vills so included in and paying rent to a manor were said to "lie in" that manor.

There are a number of instances where a vill was divided into a number of manors. Stepney would appear to be a case

[1] D. B., I. 166 a 2. [2] *Id.*, 180 a 1. [3] *Id.*, 269 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, 16 b 2. [5] Birch, 50. [6] *D. B. and B.*, 13.

in point, although the estates of the various tenants of the bishop are not styled "manors." Robert of Ouilly held Bicester (Oxon.) for two manors,[1] and Roger of Ivry held Fulbrook for four manors,[2] and before the Conquest five thegns held Hampton for five manors.[3] Many good examples of vills divided into manors are to be found in the eastern counties. Horndon (Essex) was divided into five manors, as follows:—

"William holds Horndon of the Bishop of London, which Godwin, a freeman, held for one manor and 1½ hides." [4]

"Garner holds Horndon of Count Eustace, which Uluric, a freeman, held for one manor and two hides and 50 acres." [5]

"Aluric the priest, a freeman, held Horndon for one manor & two hides and 30 acres. . . . Pagan holds this manor of Swegen." [6]

"The Land of Hugh of St. Quintin.

"Winge held Horndon T. R. E. for one manor and for 1½ hides." [7]

"The Land of Edward Fitz Algot.

"Two freemen held Horndon T. R. E. for one manor and for 2½ hides & 15 acres." [8]

Other examples can easily be found.

Traces of this division of vills may be found at the present day, where we have a number of villages bearing the same name with distinguishing affixes or suffixes. In Oxfordshire we have Great Tew, Little Tew, and Duns Tew; Barford St. Michael and Barford St. John; Great Rollright and Little Rollright; Chipping Norton and Over Norton. But the classical instance of this division of a vill is the Norfolk example of Burnham Deepdale, Burnham Norton, Burnham Westgate, Burnham Sutton, Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Overy.[9]

Further, portions of a vill could be annexed to manors in other vills. Abington (Cambs.) was assessed at 5 hides. Of these Hugh Pincerna held 2 hides and 2½ virgates as a

[1] D. B., I. 158 a 2. [2] *Id.*, 158 b 2. [3] *Id.*, 160 b. 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 12. [5] *Id.*, 26. [6] *Id.*, 42.
[7] *Id.*, 93. [8] *Id.*, 93 b. [9] *D. B. and B.*, 367 n.

manor from the Bishop of Winchester; and two knights held 1 hide and 1½ virgate from Hardouin of Eschalers; but ½ hide was annexed to Litlington, 1 virgate to Earl Roger's manor of Shingay, ½ virgate to Mordun, and ½ virgate to Litlington.[1] When a portion of a vill was thus annexed to a manor in another vill, it was said to "lie in" that manor, but its "wara" or assessment lay in its mother vill; that is to say, although the inhabitants of these portions performed their services and paid their dues to the manors in which they lay, yet their assessment remained in and they paid their geld to the man who collected the geld for their mother vill.[2] Certain land at Loncheli, in Berkshire, "lies and is valued at Gratenton, which is in Oxfordshire, and yet pays scot in Berkshire."[3]

So that a vill could be (1) a manor of itself; (2) subdivided into many manors; (3) a portion of another manor; or (4) it could contain a manor, and portions could be annexed to other manors.

What, then, is a manor? The Domesday Commissioners never define this term, but must have known the characteristics of the institution to which they applied it; and the best way of ascertaining those characteristics is to analyze the constitution of the tenements which they designate as manors.

The first characteristic is a truism. The manor is the tenement of one lord, or of joint heirs, or of a body like the canons of St. Paul's; but a vill may be divided among many owners.

Then, again, there was some occult connection between the manor and one of the houses on the estate. Mr. Scrutton[4] quotes a plea of the thirteenth century to show that "manerium" was sometimes used in the sense of "manor-house." In 1268 certain persons were tried at York "because they came by night to the manor of William, and broke the walls of the said manor, and took his goods and chattels."

[1] *I. C. C.*, 60; *D. B. and B.*, 11.
[2] *F. E.*, 115. [3] D. B., I. 61 b.
[4] *Commons and Common Fields*, p. 10.

Other words are used in Domesday Book for houses : *aula*, the hall ; *curia*, the court ; and *domus*, a house ; but the "hall" is clearly differentiated from the other houses in any village. At Ebrige (Berks.) Hugh the Steerman had a quarrel with his tenants, "and transported the hall and the houses and stock into another manor."[1] And when we read that at Ættune "ten manors : ten thegns each had his hall,"[2] we see that the hall was what we should now call the manor-house, the residence of the owner of the estate. But it is further clear that a hall was necessary to the existence of a manor. At Perching (Sussex) there were, T. R. E., two halls ; in 1086 it was one manor.[3] And examples could be multiplied. In Essex "hall" is often used when "manor" would be expected : "Ingelric added these men to his hall"[4] corresponds to "Ingelric added these men to his manor," on the next page.

Curia is not so common as *aula*, but is practically its equivalent. In some places we read of mills serving the court, and in others of mills serving the hall. Occasionally manors without halls are mentioned,[5] and the Perching record quoted above shows that the new owner had consolidated two manors into one by abolishing one of the halls ; and in Yorkshire there are passages which suggest that a manor was converted into a sokeland or a berewick by the abolition of the hall. But why should one house on an estate be so important as to give its name to the whole estate ?

Professor Maitland has answered this question by reminding us that Domesday Book is primarily a geld-book, and that all its information is given from the point of view of the collectors of the geld. Now, these collectors would know that a certain property was assessed at a certain number of hides ; but unless they knew at what house the demand for the geld should be made, they would have to wander over the whole

[1] D. B., I. 63 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, 282 b 2.
[3] *Id.*, 27 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, II. 29 b.
[5] *Id.*, I. 307 b 1.

CITY

HALL

(FROM THE UTRECHT PSALTER)

estate to find the person who was liable; and, in the same way as to-day the overseer leaves the demand-note for the poor-rate at the farmhouse, so in the eleventh century the collector called at the manor-house for the geld. In his view the Domesday manor was a house and estate separately assessed to the geld,[1] in which case the lord was liable for the geld of some of his tenants. This theory is supported by a passage in the Herefordshire Domesday:—

"The said Ralph Mortimer holds Melela of one hide, Lel of one virgate, and Fech of one virgate. These three were gelding manors. *geld*
(*Haec iii. maner' fuerunt*): three thegns held them. When Turstin of Wigmore received them from Earl William, he joined them to the aforesaid manor of Claybury, and then and now they were and are valued therein."[2]

As these three places were distinctly called gelding manors, it would seem that they were separately assessed to the geld.

The clearest connection between the geld and the manor is shown in the Essex Domesday, where the usual formula is, "X held such a place for a manor and for A hides;" and a possible connection is shown at West-meston: "There is no hall there, neither did they pay geld as they say."[3] If this theory is correct, the collector would call at one house only where a vill was coterminous with a manor; he would call at several houses where a vill was divided into many manors. At Horndon he would call at five houses to collect the geld on 9 hides and 80 acres, and he would make a special call at Aluric's house at Tendring to collect 3*d.*, the geld payable by his manor of 15 acres.[4]

But this theory has been criticized, especially on the ground that many properties that were separately assessed to the geld were not called "manors," but were merely referred to as "lands;" and it must be remembered that many estates in

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 120.
[2] *Id.*, 260 a 1.
[3] D. B., I. 27 a 2.
[4] D. B., II. 95 b.

Dorset were called "manors," and yet had never paid geld; *e.g.* Bridetone and Wimbourne.[1] And there are many instances in the geld inquests for the south-western counties, where the collectors could not collect the geld in 1084, as the villans retained it.

Possibly some little inquiry will show us some other characteristics of the manor. In the counties of Derby, Nottingham, York, and Lincoln, the Commissioners draw a distinction between a manor and its sokelands. Sometimes we find that after the particulars of a tenement called a "manor" is a line, "Soke of this manor," followed by particulars relating to a number of other tenements. Sometimes the distinction between a manor and its sokelands is indicated by an "M" or "S," in the left-hand margin. Examination will show that the composition of a manor differed considerably from that of its sokelands, and that, as a general rule, the sokelands were not valued separately.

The sokelands appear to be the simplest organisms, and should therefore be examined first. Turn over page after page of the statistics relating to these four counties, and it will be found to be almost the invariable rule that these sokelands contain no demesne, and that they are inhabited by persons called sokemen, either with or without other persons called villans and bordars. By way of example, take two consecutive entries—

"S. In Screveton there is one carucate of land [assessed] to geld. Land for 3 teams. There 3 sokemen, and 2 villans and 1 bordar have one team and a half.

"S. In Colston are 4 bovates and 4 acres of land [assessed] to geld. Land for one team. There 5 sokemen have a team and a half."[2]

Occasionally one finds that the only recorded inhabitant of a tenement to which a marginal "S" is prefixed is called a villan, but such occurrences are very rare. On fol. 281 are thirty-eight tenements to which the marginal "S" is prefixed. Some of these are waste. Not one contains demesne, and there

[1] D. B., I. 75 a 2.

[2] *Id.*, I. 281 b 2.

is only one whose sole recorded inhabitant is called a villan. The same characteristics are found in Lincolnshire. On fol. 338 a are twelve sokelands, all of which are inhabited by sokemen, either with or without villans and bordars, and not one of which contains demesne. There is a list of twenty-four sokelands pertaining to Chirchetone,[1] of which only one, Hiboldeston, contains demesne; but appended to the list is a note, "Hiboldeston is berewick, and not sokeland," showing that Hiboldeston has crept into the list by mistake. All but Hiboldeston are inhabited by sokemen, either with or without villans or bordars. To the manor of Gayton [2] were appurtenant nine sokelands, none of which contained demesne, and all of these were inhabited by sokemen. Occasionally we find in a list of sokelands a tenement stated to be "inland," and containing demesne. But the example of Hiboldeston suggests that such have crept into the list by mistake, and should be considered berewicks. The same features appear in Yorkshire. Twenty-four sokelands pertained to Earl Edwin's manor of Alvertune, in which resided, T. R. E., one hundred and sixteen sokemen, and in which no demesne is recorded. There were twenty-one sokelands pertaining to Tostig's manor of Walesgrif, in which, T. R. E., were a hundred and eight sokemen with forty-six teams, but no demesne.[3] So that a sokeland may be defined as a tenement containing no demesne, and inhabited by sokemen, either with or without villans and bordars.

Then it should be noticed that in these four counties, the marginal "M" denotes that the tenement under consideration was a pre-Conquest manor. At first it would appear that this prefix indicated a post-Conquest manor. Possibly it often does, but in many cases the "M" is surmounted by a figure—

"X. M. In Aettune ten thegns had (habuerunt) each his hall." [4]

"VIII. M. In Barctune Godric [and seven others who are named] had 4 carucates of land (assessed) to geld. Ralph holds it." [5]

[1] D. B., I. 338 b. [2] *Id.*, I. 338 a 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 299 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 284 b. 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 274 b 1.

These two post-Conquest estates were composed, the one of ten, the other of eight pre-Conquest manors; and instances of the consolidation of two or three pre-Conquest manors into one post-Conquest tenement are very common. But the Domesdays for these counties give no information of the constitution of the pre-Conquest manors, sokelands, or berewicks. Such information is found only in the volume relating to the eastern counties, in which, however, the term "sokeland" is rarely or never used.

In Essex and Suffolk certain tenements are stated to have been manors before the Conquest. But there are many tenements to which no designation whatever is applied. Let us schedule the pre-Conquest condition of the estates of the Abbey of St. Edmund's, in the hundred of Thingoe (Suffolk). To those which are styled manors, the marginal "M" is prefixed.[1]

	Carucates.	Teams.		Freemen.	Sokemen.	Villans.	Bordars.	Slaves.
		D.	T.					
M. Risby	2	2	1	1	7	4	2	3
M. Horningsworth ...	4	4	5	—	15	3	15	7
M. Huepstede	5	4	6	6	1	10	18	9
M. Nowton	4	4	4	—	10	10	10	4
M. Ceventun	6	4	4	—	1	13	9	6
M. Saxham	5	3	6	—	—	12	6	4
M. Lackford	5	3	4	—	1	14	7	4
M. Hemegretham ...	3	2	3	—	8	2	2	3
M. Fornham	1	1	1	2	3	—	4	1
M. Keworth	3	2	4	—	—	9	3	4
Saxham	2½	—	4	3	—	—	—	—
Flemingston ...	1	—	3	—	10	—	—	—
Halstead	4	—	13	28	—	—	—	—
Broclega	2	—	4	3	—	—	—	—
Manestun	20	—	½	—	1	—	—	—
Reod	½	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
,, ...	½	—	1	7	—	—	—	—
Westley	2	—	3	11	—	—	—	—

(In this schedule the villans, bordars, and slaves of the freemen, and the sokemen and the teams of the freemen and the sokemen in the manors, are omitted.)

[1] D. B., II. 362–364.

Here we see that (1) the pre-Conquest manor in Suffolk contained demesne; (2) where there was demesne, there were also villans or bordars having teams of their own; (3) the tenements that were not styled manors, but were inhabited by freemen and sokemen, contained no demesne. Rules 1 and 2 hold good for all the estates of the abbey in Suffolk, but there are a few exceptions to rule 3. We may, therefore, provisionally say that the pre-Conquest tenement to which the Suffolk Commissioners applied the term "manor," was the tenement of one lord, possessing a hall and demesne, and having members of the villan class with teams of their own among its inhabitants.

But the Essex manors do not admit of this easy generalization. Take the five Horndon manors mentioned above—

"Godwin had 1 team in demesne, and 4 bordars and 1 slave." [1]

"Uluric had 2 teams in demesne, and 2 villans, 7 bordars, and 1 slave." [2]

"Aluric had 1 team in demesne; his tenants had ½ team, and there were 11 bordars and 1 slave." [3]

"Winge had 1 team in demesne and 3 bordars." [4]

"2 freemen had 3 teams in demesne; their tenants had 2 teams: there were 1 villan, 14 bordars, and 3 slaves." [5]

On three out of these five manors the tenants had no teams.

It is, however, generally the rule in Essex that a manor contained both dominical and tenants' teams; although, on the other hand, it is easy to find tenements containing both dominical and tenants' teams which are not called manors. Thus, on fol. 22 b there are five tenements containing both dominical and tenants' teams, of which only one is styled a manor. But in these cases it does not appear impossible that the scribe was lazy, and omitted the "pro manerio," which he should have inserted. The distinction, however, which is

[1] D. B., II. 12.
[2] *Id.*, II. 26.
[3] *Id.*, II. 42.
[4] *Id.*, II. 93.
[5] *Id.*, II. 93 b.

drawn in Suffolk between tenements which were and were not styled manors, is most definite; and, although with much hesitation, I would suggest that the presence of demesne and villans was essential to the pre-Conquest tenement, to which the Commissioners applied the term of "manor." In passing, let us remember that the term "manor" does not appear in English pre-Conquest documents.

But what of the constitution of the post-Conquest manors?

The marginal notation of the pre-Conquest manors in the northern counties leads us to hesitate before deciding whether the marginal "M" in the Eastern Midland counties—Middlesex, Bucks, Cambridge, Hunts, and Beds—denotes pre- or post-Conquest manors; but, in the absence of the surmounting figures, I am inclined to think that in these counties the marginal "M" denotes a post-Conquest manor.

The majority of the post-Conquest tenements which are distinctly called manors, certainly do contain both demesne and villans, but there are not a few variations from this type.

(1) Some manors contained demesne, but no villans, *e.g.* Gayton,[1] Fornham;[2] but in each place there were bordars, who at Fornham possessed teams, and who may therefore be regarded as belonging to the villan class.

(2) The marginal "M" is prefixed to two Bedfordshire estates, Dena[3] and Tilbrook,[4] which contained no demesne, and were inhabited only by sokemen and bordars. Each of these had been inhabited by the same sokemen before the Conquest.

(3) In Bucks there are many entries of which the following is the type:—

"Ralph holds of Walter (Gifard) in Pitstone 5 hides for a manor: there is land for 2 teams, and there they are with 3 villans and 3 bordars and 1 slave. . . . Tori, a man of Earl Leofwin's, held this manor."[5]

[1] D. B., I. 338 b. 2. [2] *Id.*, II. 357. [3] *Id.*, I. 209 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 211 b 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 147 a 2.

Here, again, we have a case of a tenement being called a manor, and yet containing no recorded demesne, although it might be argued that the dominical and tenants' teams are added together, and that only the total is given.

(4) In Essex there are a few minute properties which are styled "manors," and yet contain no recorded demesne, and no recorded inhabitant except the owner.

"Alward Dore held Nazenden, T. R. E., for a manor and for 40 acres: then half a team, now none.

"Ulwin Hopra held Bertune for a manor and half a hide; then one team, now half a team."[1]

(5) There are also a few estates called "manors" containing villans but no demesne; *e.g.* Willesden.[2]

So that the distinction between the post-Conquest tenements that were or were not styled "manors" did not lie in their constitution.

And on looking further into their descriptions, we find only two features that they had in common—every post-Conquest manor was the tenement of a single lord, and had a separate value attached to it.

The fact that every manor had a separate value attached to it shows that, for the purposes of administration, it was treated as an independent unit under a separate bailiff; the proceeds arising from each manor would be aggregated into one total, and we shall have occasion to refer to the accounts of the bailiffs of various manors in the thirteenth century.

Hence we understand why the term "manor" was applied to estates occupied only by sokemen and bordars; their dues, whatever they were, were accounted for separately from the dues arising from other estates of the same landlord. Hence, too, we understand why the term "manor" was applied to the small estates of Essex: they formed agricultural entities of themselves, and owed service to no one. This suggestion will

[1] D. B., II. 94. [2] *Id.*, I. 127 b 2.

explain why a portion of a vill could be annexed to a manor in another vill; the rents and services arising from the outlying portion would be accounted for by the bailiff of the manor to which it was annexed. It will also explain how one manor could be held of another; the sub-manor accounted to one bailiff, who in his turn accounted to the bailiff of the head manor. Finally, it should be noticed that in many cases "manerium" appears to be interchangeable with a colourless term like "terra," showing that the Commissioners themselves had no very strong views that any definite constitution was required to justify their applying the term "manor" to any tenement.[1]

"The solution of difficulties thus seems to lie in the idea that the conquerors not only found manors on English soil and described them as such in Domesday, but created manors where they were not as yet constituted, and described as manors complexes of property which were in the slightest degree similar to them."[2]

When we remember that the term "manor" was applied to any estate that was managed as one whole, irrespective of its size, and could be applied to large estates like Tewkesbury, which was assessed at 95 hides, or to small properties like Aluric's manor at Tendring, assessed at 15 acres, it is obvious that to state the number of manors belonging to any person will give no adequate idea of the extent of his possessions. The King had nine manors in Oxfordshire, which varied in assessment from 34½ hides to 5 hides; so in any calculations that we may make, we shall reckon the hides assessed on, or preferably the teams employed on the estates of any landowner.

Meanwhile, there are a few passages which indicate that the Commissioners, or perhaps the King himself, had some vague idea that a manor ought to be of a certain size. Frequently we read in the eastern counties of certain free men who were delivered to some grantee to complete his manor ("ad

[1] *G. M.*, 283. [2] *Id.*, 301.

perficiendum manerium"). Keen, a freeman, held 20 acres in Bernungham (Norfolk), and was delivered to Walter Gifard to complete his manor of Letheringsett.[1] Again, in Nottinghamshire it would appear that the pre-Conquest manor was an estate, if not of a definite size, at all events of a definite constitution. "The thegn having more than six manors paid a relief to the King of £8; a thegn with six manors or less paid three marks to the sheriff."[2]

From its derivation, "berewick" should mean a place where barley is grown; but in Domesday Book the word is used to denote an outlying portion of a manor: "Earl Alfgar held Damardestun for a berewick in Bademondesfeld."[3] Berkeley had twenty-one berewicks, and the manor of Tewkesbury was composed of lands in sixteen vills. Tewkesbury was called the "caput manerii," the head of the manor, and this term always appears to be used for the portion which contained the manor house, and gave its name to the whole area.

Reference has been made to the sokelands as appurtenances of a manor containing no demesne and inhabited by sokemen. But berewicks are always distinguished from sokelands. In the same way as sokelands are sometimes distinguished by the marginal "S," so the berewicks are marked with a marginal "B." Thus—

"B. In Wenflet three brothers had 7½ gelding bovates. This is inland in the aforesaid manor."[4]

"B. In Trichingeham is the inland of Newton."[5]

But "inland" is a species of demesne; so that a berewick differs from a sokeland in containing demesne. This distinction is emphasized by a few entries where "S & B" occur in the margin—

"S & B. In Herlavestune 9 carucates are in the soke, and three in the hall of Grantham.

[1] D. B., II. 242 b.
[2] *Id.*, I. 280 b 1.
[3] *Id.*, II. 438 b.
[4] *Id.*, I. 341 a 2.
[5] *Id.*, I. 341 b 1.

"S & B. In Gunfordebi, 3 carucates are inland and 4 sokeland in Grantham." [1]

The "S & B" in the margin must indicate that the vill contains both a berewick and a sokeland of Grantham; and our study of the sokeland shows that the berewick was that portion that contained the demesne. Then, again, the berewick is akin to the manor in possessing inhabitants of the villan class, but it differs from the manor in not possessing a hall. "Saint Edmund holds Walfleet for a berewick, and the hall to which it pertains is situate in another hundred: always 17 villans and 3 bordars, and three teams belonging to the tenants." [2]

To sum up, "mansio" appears to be the name given to a separate holding of any kind—a tenement.

A "vill" is a block of territory defined by specified boundaries, and bearing one name.

A "manor" in pre-Conquest times was an estate possessing a hall and demesne, and containing inhabitants of the villan class; after the Conquest it was an estate managed as an administrative unit.

A "berewick" is a manor in every respect, except that it has no hall.

And a "sokeland" is a tenement having no demesne, and inhabited by sokemen.

[1] D. B., I. 337 b 2. [2] *Id.*, II. 362 b.

CHAPTER IV

THE HUNDRED AND THE SHIRE

BESIDES the vill and the manor, other divisions of land are mentioned in Domesday Book—the "hundred," the "wapentake," and the "shire." All three terms were used to signify collections of vills which were treated as units for purposes of taxation, administration, and jurisdiction. Of these three terms, "hundred" represented the smallest unit; and in the description of lands between the Mersey and the Ribble, "manor" and "hundred" appear to be interchangeable. Of Salford it is said, "To this manor or hundred pertained, T. R. E., 21 berewicks, which were held by as many thegns for as many manors."[1] The explanation of this interchange of "manor" and "hundred" appears to lie in the fact that all this territory had passed into the hands of Roger of Poitou, who, to simplify the administration, had treated each hundred as a single manor.

The number of vills that went to form a hundred differed greatly; some hundreds were composed of two vills only. Thus the hundred of Banbury was composed of the two vills of Banbury and Cropredy, each of 50 hides; other hundreds comprised ten or fifteen vills; the number depended on their assessment. From his investigations into the assessment of Cambridgeshire, as shown in the parallel accounts of the Exchequer Domesday and the Cambridgeshire Inquest, Mr. Round has deduced the "5-hide rule"—that in the hidated

[1] D. B., I. 270 a 1.

shires every vill was assessed as a unit of 5 hides or a multiple of 5 hides.[1] A good example may be found in the hundred of Stanes, which, from the Cambridgeshire Inquest, may be tabulated as follows :—

Vill.	Hides.	Teamlands or Teams in 1066.	Value T. R. E.
			£ s. d.
Bottisham	10	20	16 0 0
Swaffham (1)	10	16	11 10 0
,, (2)	10	13¾	12 10 0
Wilbraham	10	17	20 0 0
Stow-cum-Quy	10	11	14 10 0
	50	77¾	74 10 0[2]

Here it is obvious that the assessment bears no relation whatever to the area under cultivation, or the value. Further, two or more vills are often combined to form a multiple of 5 hides; in the hundred of Wetherley (Cambs.) there were five vills of 4 hides each, which were combined to form a 20-hide block, and a similar block was composed of the three vills of Comberton (6 hides), Barton (7 hides), and Grantchester (7 hides).[3] Sometimes this rule will enable us to identify a vill that might otherwise remain unidentified. There are two Broughtons in Oxfordshire—one near Banbury, and the other in the south-western part of the county, now called Broughton Poggs. Domesday Book mentions both vills, but does not distinguish them; one is assessed at 20 hides, and the other at 7 hides less 1 virgate. A little search will show that Broadwell, a vill adjoining Broughton Poggs, is assessed at 24H 1V; and if this assessment is added to the 6H 3V of Broughton and the 4 hides of Kencot, we find that these three vills form a 35-hide block, and that consequently the 20-hide Broughton must be the Broughton near Banbury.

Again, Mr. Baring has shown that conjectural corrections

[1] *F. E.*, 44–69. [2] *Ib.*, 45. [3] *Ib.*, 49.

of fractions may reasonably be made to bring an abnormal assessment within the 5-hide rule.

Some examples of these rules may be found in Oxfordshire; but in this county the scribe has very rarely followed the rule which exists in the other counties, of entering in the right-hand margin the name of the hundred in which a particular property lies. The hundreds must therefore be reconstituted from later evidence, and it must remain uncertain whether the later hundred coincides with the Domesday hundred. All the villages in the modern hundred of Langtree were included therein in the Hundred Rolls of 1279. Their Domesday statistics may be tabulated as follows:—

Vill.	Hides.	Teamlands.	Value T. R.E.
			£ s. d.
Ipsden	2½ } 5	3	2 10 0
,, ...	2½ }	4	2 10 0
Checkendon	5 } 25	7	4 0 0
,, ...	20 }	28	18 0 0
Crowmarsh	10	12	10 0 0
Gethampton	1½ } 6½	1½	1 0 0
,, ...	5 } } 9½	4	4 0 0
Stoke	3	4	4 0 0
Goring	20	10	6 0 0
Mapledurham	7 } 10	12	8 0 0
,, ...	3 }	5	5 0 0
Mongewell	10	10	10 0 0
Newnham Murren	10	16	12 0 0
Stoke	10	15	13 0 0
Whitchurch	10	15	15 0 0
	119½	146½	115 0 0

If to the 6½ hides of Gethampton we may add the half-hide of Edward, the situation of which is unspecified,[1] we have here a long (or English) hundred of 120 hides; and there is reason to think that this was the assessment of the normal hundred of Oxfordshire in 1086.

The number of hides in a hundred varied greatly. Mr. Round gives the hidage of nine hundreds of Cambridge-

[1] D. B., I. 157 a 1.

shire as 100, 100, 90, 90, 80, 80, 70, 50, and 50 respectively. Domesday Book tells that the bishop's hundred of Oswaldslaw in Worcestershire was composed of 300 hides,[1] while the hundred of Fishborough contained 65 hides, and was perfected by the addition of 20 hides from the hundred of Dodintree, and the 15 hides at which the city of Worcester was assessed.[2] The hundred of Herstingstone in Huntingdon contained 200 hides,[3] but Earl Roger's hundred of Wittering in Sussex contained only 6½ hides.[4] The hundreds of Sussex are most abnormal, and varied in assessment, from Steyning with 240 gelding hides and 20¾ hides that were quit of geld, to Ifield with 1 hide that gelded and ½ hide that was quit of geld.

From the neat assessments of the Cambridgeshire hundreds and vills, Mr. Round has come to the conclusion that the assessment was in the first place imposed on the hundred, and then distributed among the vills by the hundred-moot;[5] and he has found this Cambridgeshire evidence supported by that of other counties. The geld inquests for the south-western counties show that the geld was there accounted for, not vill by vill, but hundred by hundred, and in Devonshire the geld was collected by the hundred's men—the men who presided over the hundred-moot.

In his paper on the "Tribal Hidage," Mr. Corbett has shown that the division of England into hundreds dates from the time of Bede and Edwin of Northumbria—say, from 675—and has further pointed out that the number of hundreds of hides assigned by that document to what he calls Middle Anglia, corresponds with the number of hundreds which, according to his calculations, are assigned by Domesday Book to the counties forming that district; and that there is a similar correspondence between the 7000 hides of the district of the Hwiccas in the Tribal Hidage, and the 70 hundreds assigned

[1] D. B., 172 b 1. [2] *Id.*, 175 b 1. [3] *Id.*, 203 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, 24 a 2. [5] *F. E.*, 92.

by Domesday Book to the three counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford. And he attributes the Tribal Hidage, "and with it the whole plan of assessing England in hides, . . . to the fiscal authority of the Bretwaldas."[1] In his opinion, and in that of Mr. Round, the hide was a unit of assessment—a notional area—from the very beginning.

If all the Domesday hundreds were composed of 100 hides each, or if the number of hides in Domesday Book were equal to the number of hundreds multiplied by 100, the evidence that the hide was a family holding would be in favour of those who hold that the original hundred was the district settled by a band of 100 invading warriors; but it is construing the language of Tacitus too strictly to hold that every German chieftain was followed by a band of warriors who numbered neither more nor less than one hundred, and it is certain that if the number had been exactly one hundred, some would have been killed during the course of the invasion. From the time of the Latin War (B.C. 340) the Roman *centurio* was composed of eighty men or less, and the centurion was not ordinarily in command of one hundred soldiers; so that the application of the term "hundred" to a band of soldiers of any number whatever, is not without parallel, and we need not therefore be surprised at the existence of a district called a "hundred," but containing less than a hundred family holdings.

Mr. Taylor has noticed that the hundreds in the river-valleys of Gloucestershire are smaller in area than those in the Cotswolds. Evidently the settlements were thicker in the valleys, and so long as they contained unoccupied land, newcomers would settle in them in preference to the unknown hills. The hundreds in the south-west of England—Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall—are of larger area than those in the more eastern counties. A hide represents a larger number of present-day acres in those counties than in Dorset. It is

[1] *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, vol. 14, p. 217, etc.

however, agreed by all authorities that when the English conquered the districts which afterwards became those counties, they spared a large proportion of the original inhabitants, and it has therefore been argued that a hide in these counties represents the original settlement of an English warrior.

In most counties the hundreds formed compact blocks of territory; but it would seem that powerful subjects could alter the composition of the hundreds. The triple hundred of Oswaldslaw was composed of detached vills scattered all over Worcestershire, as is shown by the Domesday map of that county in the Victoria County History. As the Bishop of Worcester had jurisdiction over all his men, it was to his interest to secure that all his possessions should be included in one hundred, and that all his tenants should attend the same court. Similarly, the Domesday hundred of Somerley in Sussex was composed of the estates of the Bishop of Chichester at Selsey, Sidlesham, and Wittering, in the west of the county, and at Preston, near Brighton, in the centre. Another example of the aggregation of the estates of one owner into one hundred is afforded by the hundred of Deerhurst (Glos.); it appears that all the property of the Abbey of Deerhurst had been aggregated into a single hundred before the Conquest, and that when its possessions had been divided by the Conqueror between Westminster Abbey and the Church of St. Denys of Paris, the old hundredal arrangements still continued. Little Compton and Wolford, in the extreme east of the county, and now forming part of Warwickshire, are shown by Domesday Book to have been in the same hundred as Deerhurst and Hardwick, from which they are 20 miles distant.[1]

It will not, therefore, be surprising that land was sometimes moved from one hundred to another; that is, that the occupiers of a certain piece of land were transferred from one hundred-moot to another. Windrush (Glos.) wrongly lay in Salmannesberie hundred after the death of Bolle, but in 1086

[1] Taylor, *Notes on the Gloucestershire Domesday*, 96.

it was transferred to Barrington hundred, by the judgment of the men of that hundred.[1] Ralph Taillebois placed Bishopescote, an estate of 5 hides, in the King's manor of Luton, "and sent it out of the hundred where it defended itself T. R. E.;" but, on the other hand, he took 5 hides from another hundred and placed them in Fletham hundred.[2]

Sometimes it is found that a vill or a manor lay in two or more hundreds. The King held 27½ hides at Tingdene. "The land of this manor lay thus: in Hecham hundred 10½ hides, in Hocheslau hundred 1½, in Geritone hundred 1 hide, in Rodwell hundred ¾ hide, in Ordinbaro hundred 4¾ hides, and in Neuesland hundred 9½ hides."[3] In East Sussex, especially in the district between Lewes and Eastbourne, there were many manors of which different parts lay in different hundreds. Willingdon was divided into nine parts; of these two lay in Willingdon hundred, one in Pevensey, two in Hawksborough, two in Shoeswell, and two in Henhert hundred; but the six parts in the three last-mentioned hundreds did not pay geld. Similarly, Laughton lay in four hundreds—Edivestone, Totnore, Hawksborough, and Shoeswell; and Alciston lay in three hundreds—Wandelmestrei, Shoeswell, and Henhert. But it is probable that those portions which lay in the three hundreds of Hawksborough, Shoeswell, and Henhert were outlying portions of these manors situate in the Weald. These three hundreds did not pay geld, and belonged to the Count of Eu, while Wandelmestrei belonged to Battle Abbey, and the other hundreds which have been named to the Count of Mortain.

Since the time of Domesday Book the hundreds in many counties have been rearranged.[4] In 1086 there were eighteen hundreds in Buckinghamshire, but now there are only six, each

[1] D. B., I. 165 b. 2.

[2] *Id.*, I. 219 b 2.

[3] *Id.*, I. 220 a 1.

[4] For this reason one should be chary of attributing error to the Domesday scribe when he says that a certain vill lay in a certain hundred, merely because at some later date it lay in another hundred.

of which contains three of the Domesday hundreds. Domesday Book speaks of the soke of nineteen hundreds in Oxfordshire; to these Mr. Corbett adds three, making a total of twenty-two; to-day there are only twelve. Our record mentions two hundreds of Gadre, and the Pipe Roll for 1162 mentions a hundred of Keneworth; but all traces of these hundreds has now disappeared. Some of the Oxfordshire hundreds have been aggregated. The Pipe Roll for 1172 speaks of the three hundreds of Wootton, and the Domesday assessments of the vills in the present hundred of Wootton amount to about 360 hides, or three long hundreds of 120 hides each. Similarly, the modern hundreds of Bampton, Bullingdon, and Ploughley are each composed of two Domesday hundreds of 120 hides apiece.

Every hundred had its appointed moot-stow or meeting-place, from which it usually took its name. The situation of this moot-stow in a village will account for a hundred bearing the name of a village within its borders; these moots were often held in the open air, frequently at well-known barrows. The termination "law" indicates that the moot was held at a barrow; and it would seem that the original meeting-place of the hundred of Oswaldslaw was at such a barrow, as "Oswald's hlaw" is mentioned as one of the boundaries of Wolverton, near Worcester.[1] Sometimes the old "hlaw" is softened into the modern "ley;" the modern hundred of Ploughley (Oxon.) appears as Pockedelaw in the Hundred Rolls of 1279. Sometimes the hundred met in one of the old fortified camps, of which the remains are so plentiful to-day, such as Salmannesberie and Begberie, in Gloucestershire; and other hundred-moots gathered at a well-known stone, such as Witestone, also in Gloucestershire. Domesday Book tells that the two hundreds of Ely met at Wickford.[2]

The existence of a common meeting-place will account for the existence of detached portions of a hundred in places

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 268 n 3. [2] D. B., I. 191 b 2.

where their existence cannot be attributed to the action of a magnate in aggregating his estates for the purposes of jurisdiction. Till 1834 Boycot and Lillingstone Lovell were detached portions of the hundred of Ploughley (Oxon.), entirely surrounded by Buckinghamshire, the former 1 mile, and the latter 4 miles from the nearest Oxfordshire village: these vills are entered in Oxfordshire by Domesday Book. In all probability, a man who was accustomed to attend the moot of the hundred of Ploughley, or its predecessor (for Ploughley is not mentioned in Domesday Book), settled at some distance from his neighbours in an attractive spot; after a time, the neighbourhood became settled by men who met in another moot; but nevertheless the first settler remained faithful to his old friends, and met in their moot. In the case of these two vills, it is not possible to think that they were connected with Oxfordshire, and with the hundred of Ploughley, by some grantee's will; for in 1086 they were in the possession of Reinbald, Benzelinus, and Richard the engineer, none of whom had any other property in the county.

The five-hide unit has already been mentioned in connection with the assessment for geld, but the customs of Berkshire and of the boroughs show that this unit was closely connected with the service in the fyrd, the territorial army, which replaced the levy *en masse*, except when the country was invaded. Domesday Book shows that many of the boroughs furnished one soldier for every 5 hides in their assessment;[1] and in Berkshire, "If the King sent out an army, from every five hides only one soldier went; and for his victuals and pay, every hide gave him 4/- for two months."[2] It will be remembered that when William II. called out the fyrd for an invasion of Normandy, the soldiers assembled at Dover, but after Ralph Flambard had collected from them the pay they had received, he dismissed them and abandoned the expedition.[3]

[1] *D. Bor.*, 80. [2] D. B., I. 56 b 1. [3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, i. 302.

The hundred was a unit for the purposes of jurisdiction, and there are frequent references in Domesday Book to the court of the hundred. We have seen that the statistics contained in our record were collected from the juries of the hundreds, but the most frequent references show that one of its functions was to act as a court for the registration of transfers of land. Again and again entries "that the hundred never saw the King's writ or any person on the King's part to deliver seisin,"[1] are made to show that the party in possession holds by a doubtful title. Mr. Stuart-Moore quotes a case in which a charter was held to be invalid, because it had not been read in the hundred-moot.[2] Considering the character of Domesday Book, it is only natural that the most frequent mention of the evidence of the hundred should be in reference to disputed titles to land. The judgment of the men of the hundred is quoted to prove seisin,[3] and to show in what hundred certain lands lay.[4] These two references show that, although the hundred's man might have presided at the hundred-moot, yet the suitors of the moot were the judges. This is expressly stated in the statistics relating to Kingston, a property of 2 hides in Herefordshire, belonging to St. Mary of Cormeilles; its inhabitants gelded and worked in Gloucestershire, "but those who lived there met in this hundred (Bremesse) to the pleas, that they may do and receive right."[5]

Other business was done at the hundred-moot, which, according to Edgar's laws, met once a month; but of the nature of that business we have no information in Domesday Book, nor does it tell what business was transacted at the shire-moot. But that the fines inflicted at the hundred-moot and the fees payable thereat were no small sum, is shown by the statements that Swegen of Essex received 100*s.* from the pleas of the hundred of Rochford,[6] and 25*s.* from the pleas

[1] D. B., I. 35 a 2.
[2] *D. S.*, i. 22.
[3] *Id.*, II. 424.
[4] D. B., I. 165 b.
[5] *Id.*, I. 182 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, II. 45 b.

of the hundred of Clavering.[1] The Earl of the county was entitled to the third penny of the pleas, and, when that office was vacant, as in Essex in 1086, the King took the whole. He had evidently granted the profits of these two hundreds to Swegen.

Next in size to the hundred was the wapentake, an area that is found under that name only in the districts that came under Danish influence. Canon Taylor has shown that the wapentake in Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and the east riding of Yorkshire, was composed of three hundreds, and from the forged charter attributed to Edgar, and authorizing the formation of the triple hundred of Oswaldslaw, suggests that three hundreds were associated for the supply of a ship to the fleet.[2] Conveyances of land were produced to the court of the wapentake in the same way as they were produced at the hundred-moot,[3] and the evidence of the wapentake is quoted in the same way as the evidence of the hundred.[4]

In the same way as the hundred was an aggregation of vills, so a shire was an aggregation of hundreds. Warwickshire was an aggregation of twelve hundreds, Worcester of twelve, Wilts of forty-one, and Middlesex of five and a half or six. Every one has noticed that all the counties north of the Thames, which are mentioned in Domesday Book, bear the same name as one of the towns within their borders, and it is possible that these shires are of a military origin. The pre-Conquest conveyances of land show that the land was universally (except in a few instances by the favour of the King) subject to the *trinoda necessitas*—the threefold burden of the repair of the boroughs, the repair of the bridges, and military service. In order that these obligations could be performed by the landowners, they must have known what borough it was their duty to repair; and the lands that were

[1] D. B., II. 46 b.
[2] *D. S.*, i. 76.
[3] *Id.*, I. 376 b *z*.
[4] D. B., I. 375 a.

assigned for the repair of any borough became the shire taking its name from that borough. The Cheshire Domesday gives evidence of this connection between county and borough: "to repair the wall of the city and the bridge, the reeve ordered one man to come from every hide."[1] Sometimes the lords of properties in the shire kept houses in the city, and burgesses in those houses to repair the wall. Such houses were called "mural mansions" at Oxford, and houses pertaining to rural properties are to be found in the Domesday accounts of very many boroughs. The account of the city of Leicester gives a list of twenty-four vills in the county having houses in the city. I have argued in another essay that these houses were mural mansions, similar to those of Oxford.[2] Of these twenty-four vills, one was situate in the wapentake of Franland, six in the wapentake of Geretreu, nine in the wapentake of Guthlacistan, and eight in the wapentake of Gosecote; and thus all four wapentakes of Leicestershire contributed to the defence of the city of Leicester.

This theory will account for the irregular outline of many of the shires. Buckinghamshire has two hundreds north of the Ouse, but they are separated from one another by the Northamptonshire hundred of Clayley. The Hertfordshire hundred of Tring shoots right up into the heart of Bucks, and the Bucks hundred of Earley is almost surrounded by Herts and Beds. "Given that so many hides were required for Buckingham, so many for Northampton, and so many for Hertford, some anomalies in the distribution would be inevitable, as what the distributors would have in mind would not be the hundredal areas, but the sites of the hundred-moots."[3]

But this theory is applicable only to the counties north of the Thames. Professor Freeman thinks that the counties

[1] D. B., I. 262 b 2.

[2] *D. Bor.*, 34.

[3] "Ancient Hundreds of Bucks," *Home Counties Magazine*, April, 1904.

south of the Thames represent tribal settlements. Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somerset represent the districts of the Wilsaeta, the settlers on the Wiley, the Dorsaeta, the settlers on the Dor, and the Sumersaeta, the settlers round Somerton.

Sussex, alone of all the English counties, preserves the boundaries it had when it was an independent kingdom. Kent is formed by the union of two kingdoms whose capitals were at Canterbury and Rochester respectively, and whose boundaries coincide with the boundaries of the old dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester.

The extreme northern counties are omitted from Domesday Book. Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland are entirely wanting. The district which is the modern Lancashire is never mentioned under that name; its southern portions are valued in a sort of appendix to Cheshire dealing with "the lands between the Mersey and Ribble," and some of the northern portions—Preston, Furness—are valued in Yorkshire. Rutland is another anomaly; it does not appear as a shire, but rather as a district attached to Northamptonshire. Of the six wapentakes contained in the modern county, two only are described by Domesday Book as belonging to Rutland; two others are entered under Northants, and two others in Lincoln. The four western counties—Gloucester, Hereford, Salop., and Cheshire—all contained lands which are now parts of Wales or Monmouth; but with these exceptions, and with the exception of a few detached portions which have been transferred from one county to another, the English shires have practically the same boundaries to-day as they had in 1086.

Domesday Book shows that in the same way as it was possible for vills to be moved from one hundred to another, so it was possible for a great man to move vills from one shire to another; thus several vills of Worcestershire were enrolled in the Hereford Domesday. William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, had annexed these vills to Hereford merely

as rent-paying members of his great lordship, although in all probability he had not detached them from the jurisdiction of the shire-moot of Worcester.[1]

Domesday Book shows us the shire or county as the largest administrative unit. Like the hundred-moot, the shire-moot was a court for the registration of transfers of land, but no rule has come down to show which transfers should be produced at the shire-moot and which at the hundred-moot. It also dealt with disputed titles. Reference has been made to the suit of the Abbey of Worcester against the Abbey of Evesham, which was decided at a special shire-moot a short time before our record was compiled; and the suit of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, against Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, before the shire-moot of Kent, at Pinnenden Heath, is well known. Occasionally there was a moot of more shires than one for the trial of important cases. The Bishop of Worcester founded his claim to certain property in Warwickshire on the verdict of four shires at a moot at which Queen Matilda presided.[2] Presumably the shire-moot was usually held in the shire town, but the shire-moot of Kent was held at Pinnenden Heath, and the suitors were not compelled to go further than to the heath; but each defaulter paid a fine of 100*s.* to the King.[3] The men of Archinfield paid a fine to the King of 2*s.*, or an ox, if they made default in attending the shire- or hundred-moots.[4]

The chief official of the shire was the sheriff, the shire reeve (Lat. *vicecomes*). It was he who headed its fyrd. It was the Sheriff of Herefordshire who led the citizens and the men of Archinfield when they raided Wales; it was he who usually presided at the shire-moot; it was he who saw that the services due to the King were properly rendered, and collected the King's rents and revenue from the whole county. In later years it was invariably the custom for the sheriff to

[1] *V. C. H., Worc.*, I. 239.
[2] D. B., I. 238 b 1.
[3] D. B., I. 1 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 179 a 2.

farm the county. He agreed to pay to the King a fixed sum, and collected for himself all the rents of the King's estates and the King's share of the profits of the hundred- and shire-moots. If the latter were greater than the sum he agreed to pay the King, he made a profit; if not, he made a loss. The actual farm of the county is never mentioned in Domesday Book, but there are hints, if not actual evidence, that the system was more or less in existence.[1] Often, in addition to the traditional sum payable to the King from any county, the sheriff would agree to pay a premium for the privilege of farming the county. Such a premium appears in Domesday Book as the *augmentum* or *crementum*—the Sheriff of Oxfordshire paid £25 "de augmento,"[2] and the Sheriff of Wilts paid £60 "de cremento."[3] An unscrupulous sheriff could find many opportunities of raising all the money required for meeting these payments and making a handsome profit as well. Hugh fitz Grip, late Sheriff of Dorset, Urso, Sheriff of Worcester, Picot, Sheriff of Cambridge, and Baldwin, Sheriff of Huntingdon, are four only of those whose exactions are subject of complaint in Domesday Book.

By virtue of his office, certain payments were made to the sheriff, out of which he discharged his liability to the King; thus—

"Edward the Sheriff [of Wiltshire] has of the pence which pertain to the shrievalty, 130 pigs, and 32 bacons; 2 modii and 8 sextars of wheat, and as much malt; 5 modii and 4 sextars of oats; 16 sextars of honey, or 16*s.* in lieu thereof; 480 hens; 1600 eggs; 100 cheeses; 52 lambs; 240 fleeces; 162 acres of annona (wheat). He also has produce to the value of £80 (£80 valens) between the reeveland and what he has therefrom."[4]

This extract suggests that the reeveland was land of which the sheriff received the profits, and this interpretation is supported by other passages. At Getune (Hereford) "land that

[1] *Commune of London*, 72.
[2] D. B., I. 154 b 2.
[3] D. B., I. 64 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 69 a 1.

was thegnland was afterwards converted into reeveland. Hence the King's legates say that that land and the income from it were by theft taken away from the King."[1] Evidently the sheriff, by converting it into reeveland, had appropriated for himself profits which should have gone to the King. Henry of Ferrars claimed certain land at Sparsholt, because it had belonged to Godric, his predecessor in the shrievalty of Berks,[2] —an entry which shows that the sheriff was *ex-officio* entitled to certain lands.

There are three other terms used in Domesday for districts intermediate between the shire and the hundred. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were divided into ridings, *i.e.* "thrithings," three parts, and the testimony of the riding is invoked in the same way as the testimony of the shire.[3] Kent was divided into six lathes; and Sussex into five rapes, each of which was in the possession of a single lord. Later there were six rapes—Chichester, Arundel, Bramber, Lewes, Pevensey, and Hastings; but Domesday Book amalgamates the rapes of Chichester and Arundel into the single rape of Earl Roger. But both Kent and Sussex were originally independent kingdoms, and it is not improbable that the rapes of Sussex corresponded to the Midland shires. All the vills that had houses in Chichester lay within the rape of Earl Roger, and the owners of all the houses recorded in Arundel had lands within the same rape. With but three exceptions, all the vills having houses in Lewes lay within the rape of Lewes; and, as at Arundel, so all the owners (but one) of houses in Pevensey were landowners in the rape of Pevensey. Another feature of the resemblance between the rapes of Sussex and the Midland shires is the fact, first noticed by Mr. Round, that some of the rapes had sheriffs of their own. The sheriffs of the honours of Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, and Arundel, and possibly of Bramber, are found mentioned in certain documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[1] D. B., I. 181 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 60 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 375 a.

CHAPTER V

SAKE AND SOKE

THE reference in the previous chapter to the pleas of the hundreds and the profits of the hundred courts leads us to a consideration of a phrase which is found on almost every page of the Little Domesday, and on many pages of the larger volume; constantly we read of persons having "sake and soke" over other persons or over certain properties. What do these words mean? The compiler of the (so-called) Laws of Edward the Confessor, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century, would have answered that the person who had sake and soke had the right to punish his own men for their offences in his own court, and to take the fines imposed upon them;[1] but whether the phrase had this signification in 1086 requires a little consideration.

Let us first remind ourselves of the principles of Old English penal jurisprudence. In the earliest days, the ancient Jewish maxim of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was its guiding principle; but in the course of time the offender was allowed to purchase exemption from retaliation by a nicely regulated tariff, and, even in the case of murder, the murderer might purchase his freedom by paying the "wergild" to the family of the murdered man. This wergild varied according to the social position of the victim. At the same time, a "wite" was imposed on the offender, which was paid to the court which administered

[1] *Leges Edw. Conf.*, 20. L. 349.

justice; possibly this payment was originally a fee to the court for arranging a compromise. But there were also offences against the Crown, such as absence from the fyrd, neglect to perform "burhbot," breach of the King's peace, drawing a weapon and wounding therewith so as to shed blood, etc. For all these a fine was imposed, and from Domesday Book we learn that the fines went to the King or his representatives. Long lists of the fines payable at Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Chester are given in Domesday Book, and at Chester it is expressly stated that "of all these forfeitures, two parts were the King's, and one part the earl's." And when we read of the pleas of the hundreds and the shires, and the profits arising therefrom, we are reading of the sums of money accruing from these two sources: (*a*) the "wites," or fees payable to the courts on the arrangement of private feuds; (*b*) the "bots," or fines for offences against the Crown. Except in certain cases, all these were, T. R. E., divided between the King and the earl, in the proportion of two to one; but on the suppression of many of the earldoms by the Conqueror, the third pennies of the suppressed earldoms reverted to the Crown.

Often the pleas, or rather the profits of the pleas, of a hundred were annexed to a manor within that hundred; the pleas of the half-hundred of Witham pertained to the manor of Witham.[1] In the same way, the King's share of the profits of these pleas could be annexed to a manor: To the manors of Recordin, Condover, and Barchurch (Salop.) pertained, T. R. E., two pence of the (pleas of the) hundreds bearing the same names respectively.[2] And the earl's third penny was often annexed to one of his manors: T. R. E. the third penny of the hundreds of Stradford and Chistelestone pertained to the manor of Burgelle;[3] the third penny of the whole county of Dorset was annexed to Harold's manor of Puddletown;[4]

[1] D. B., II. 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 253 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 186 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 75 a 2.

and the third penny of the pleas of Warwickshire was annexed to Earl Edwin's manor of Cotes.[1] But the King often granted his share of the pleas of the hundreds to a subject, and hence Swegen of Essex received 25*s.* of the pleas of the half-hundred of Clavering,[2] and 100*s.* of the pleas of the hundred of Rochford.[3] The pleas of the shire- and hundred-moots of Worcestershire produced £33,[4] and the same pleas for Cheshire were let on lease for £50 and a mark of gold.[5]

We have noticed that the pleas of a hundred could be annexed to a manor, and when we read, "The sake and soke of the hundred of Greenhow pertain to Weston, a royal manor, whoever holds there (*i.e.* in the hundred), and is held by the King and earl,"[6] we naturally connect the sake and soke of a hundred with the pleas of the hundred. Again, when we read, "T. R. E. Stigand had the sake and soke of the half-hundred of Hersham, except Thorp and Pulham,"[7] we are reminded that the pleas of the half-hundred of Clavering had been granted to Swegen, and infer a grant of the pleas of the half-hundred of Hersham to Stigand. And this connection between sake and soke and forfeitures is supported by a reference to the manor of Wye, in Kent, which belonged to the Abbot of Battle: "To this manor pertain the sake and soke of twenty-two hundreds, and all the forfeitures which justly belong to the King."[8] When King William paid his first visit to St. Edmund's Bury, he gave to the monks Gurth's manor of Brook, and sake and soke over all Gurth's freemen;[9] so that a grant of sake and soke could operate over a district or over certain persons.

This association of sake and soke with the profits of jurisdiction is supported by the record relating to Southwark—

"The men of Southwark testify . . . that if any man in the act of committing an offence was there accused, he made amends to the

[1] D. B., I. 238 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, II. 46 b.
[3] *Id.*, II. 45.
[4] *Id.*, I. 172 a 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 262 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, II. 113 b.
[7] *Id.*, II. 119 b.
[8] *Id.*, I. 11 b 2.
[9] *Id.*, II. 210.

King; but if he was not there accused, and escaped into the house of a man who had sake and soke, the latter had the amends of the culprit." [1]

Here it is definitely stated that the person who had sake and soke over a house received the fines arising from the misdeeds of those who lived therein. Similarly, there were ten inhabitants of Wallingford who received the forfeitures for bloodshed, and larceny and adultery in their own houses, "if the culprit was received before he was accused by the King's reeve;" [2] and nineteen burgesses of Warwick who held nineteen houses with sake and soke and all the King's customs.[3]

We therefore understand the reason why Domesday Book contains memoranda of those who, T. R. E., were entitled to sake and soke within the four shires of Derby, Nottingham, York, and Lincoln. The lists include grandees like the Archbishop of York and Countess Godiva, and humbler individuals like Elsi the son of Caschin, who had this privilege over his manor of Worksop. But appended to the Nottinghamshire list is a note that "none of these could have the earl's third penny except by his grant, and that only for his life, except the Archbishop of York and the Countess Godiva and Ulf Senisc." [4] There is a similar list of those who had sake and soke in the lathes of Sutton and Aylesford in Kent.[5]

It is impossible that all these persons having sake and soke held courts of their own, in which they judged their own men; it is inconceivable that each of the nineteen burgesses at Warwick held a separate court for his own house; it is far more probable that the penalties were imposed by the court of the district, and were there claimed by the holder of the sake and soke, in the same way "as to-day the clerk to the guardians has to apply to the City justices for the payment to the overseers of the parish where the offence was

[1] D. B., I. 32 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 56 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 238 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 280 b 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 1 b 1.

committed of half the fines under the Betting and Gaming-Houses Acts for the relief of the poor-rates of that parish."[1] There is a passage in one of the later Worcester charters supporting this view. The owner of Burford had granted to the abbey the vill of Buraston, which formed part of Burford, and at the same time gave to the abbey all his rights over Buraston, which included sake and soke, and the charter continues, that "if of necessity there should be a plea in the halimote of Burford of larceny or rape, and a man of Buraston should incur forfeiture, the prior shall have that forfeiture which I ought to have."[2]

But if it is impossible that the smaller holders of sake and soke held courts of their own, it is certain that some of the larger owners of this privilege held separate courts. Worcestershire was divided into twelve hundreds, in seven of which the sheriff had no interest. The Church of St. Mary of Worcester held the triple hundred of Oswaldslaw, "so that no sheriff could there have any litigation, neither in any plea nor in any cause whatsoever."[3] Similarly, two hundreds belonged to Westminster Abbey, a sixth to the Abbey of Pershore, and a seventh to the Abbey of Evesham. No wonder that the sheriff complained that he lost much in his farm, and found it impossible to raise the sum of £16, which was due to the King from the pleas of the hundreds.[4]

In addition to the Bishop of Worcester, whose separate court for Oswaldslaw has been referred to, there was one other prelate whose separate court is mentioned in Domesday Book, and the pleas of the Bishop of Winchester at Taunton were held thrice in the year without summons.[5] But apart from these two prelates, there is no conclusive evidence in Domesday Book that the owners of sake and soke held courts of their own, by which we mean that the court was under the

[1] *D. Bor.*, 50.
[2] Worcester Register, 9 a.
[3] D. B., I. 172 b 1.
[4] D. B., I. 172 a 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 87 b 1.

presidency of an officer of theirs. In fact, some of the evidence is against this contention. The statement that the Nottinghamshire owners of sake and soke did not receive the earl's third penny would appear to show that in that county, justice was ordinarily administered in the hundred- and shire-moots.

Some little difficulty is caused by the existence of the Warwick burgesses with sake and soke, and the freemen of the eastern counties who were so free that they could go where they would with sake and soke.[1] Was their privilege acquired or inherent? Was it the subject of a royal grant? Professor Maitland thinks that this sake and soke represents the inherent right of the primitive householder to the fines for offences committed within his own house;[2] and he gives the same explanation for the case of the sokemen on the Abbot of Ramsey's manor of Broughton, who claimed "legrewite" (the fine for incontinency), and bloodwite, and larceny up to 4*d.*, while the abbot received the forfeiture for larceny of more than 4*d.*[3] As it was a rule of law that no man could have sake and soke over himself, or receive the forfeitures for his own misdeeds, sake and soke must always operate over inferiors; and therefore the sake and soke that the Roinges freemen could take with them where they would, must have been sake and soke over their men: no action of theirs could alter the recipient of their own forfeitures.

The passage concerning the Broughton sokemen shows that the possession of sake and soke did not confer on its owner the right to all forfeitures. The fines for certain offences —peace-breach, "heinfare" (forcible entry), and "forestel" (assault) were in the King's demesne throughout England, and were paid to him alone; the earl had no share in them.[4] There were nineteen sokemen at Hersham, in Norfolk. Over three of them the King and earl had sake and soke, while from the others the King had six forfeitures only.[5] William

[1] Roinges D. B., II. 40 b. [2] *D. B. and B.*, 99.
[3] D. B., I. 204 a 2. [4] *Id.*, I. 252 a 1. [5] *Id.*, II. 155 b.

of Scocies had the soke of six forfeitures in Cheninchall ;[1] and the Bishop of London had the six forfeitures from five sokemen in Blafield ;[2] but usually, whoever might have the sake and soke over minor offences in Norfolk, the six forfeitures—probably peace-breach, "hamsocn" (housebreaking), fihtwite, fyrdwite, outlaw's work, and the receipt of outlaws[3]—went to the King. But in some parts of Suffolk these forfeitures were received by the Abbey of St. Edmund, and they were therefore called the six forfeitures of St. Edmund.

Sometimes we find that the court in possession of sake and soke varied according to the social position of those from whom it was due. The sake and soke of the half-hundred of Diss was divided in such a way that "of all those who held less than 30 acres, the sake and soke lay in Fordwell," *i.e.* their fines were paid to the officer of the manor of Fordwell ; "of all those who held 30 acres or more, the sake and soke lay in the hundred," and their fines were payable to the sheriff at the hundred-moot.[4] In the hundred of Walsham (Norfolk) the earl had sake and soke over all those who owed him fold-soke ; but the King and the earl shared the sake and soke over all the other freemen, who therefore paid their fines to the hundred-moot.[5]

On the whole, then, Domesday Book affords evidence that where a person or a church had the privilege of sake and soke, he received the fines for certain offences, but, except in a few cases, it affords no evidence whether he held a court of his own.

There are, however, two passages speaking of courts other than the hundred and county courts. The manor of Acton (Cheshire) "holds its pleas in the hall of its lord ;"[6] but this is, perhaps, an anomaly, as there is no similar passage in our record. The other passage is the well-known record, telling how Picot, the Sheriff of Cambridge, lent three sokemen to Earl Roger to

[1] D. B., II. 223 b.
[2] *Id.*, II. 195.
[3] *D. B. and B.*, 88.
[4] *Id.*, II. 130 b.
[5] *Id.*, II. 129 b.
[6] D. B., I. 265 b 1.

hold his pleas, who were thereafter retained by the earl.[1] It is useless to attempt to explain a passage which Professor Maitland has given up in despair; but one point is clear, that, as in the hundred-moots, so in private courts, if this was a private court, the suitors were the judges, and pronounced the verdict, while the penalty was exacted by the officer of the court.

The single term "soke" is often used in such a way as to give the impression that it is exactly similar in meaning to the double term "sake and soke." St. Etheldreda of Ely had the soke of five hundreds and a half in Suffolk, which produced £11.[2] But "soke" is often opposed to "sake and soke." To the manor of Weaverthorpe pertained Elpethorp, where there were 12 carucates for geld, 6 under soke, and 6 with sake and soke.[3] Reference has been made to the list of owners of sake and soke in Yorkshire. The name of Tostig does not appear in that list, but on the very next page Tostig appears as the pre-Conquest owner of Walesgrif, to which pertained, T. R. E., the soke of twenty-one lands occupied by 108 sokemen, with forty-eight teams.[4] These two instances show that "soke" was not always the same as "sake and soke." The difference in meaning cannot be explained at present; it is here sufficient to point out the distinction. And the distinction is emphasized by a passage in the Essex Domesday, distinguishing between soke and forfeitures: "And of all this soke St. Ouen has two parts and the King the third, and always two parts of the forfeitures."[5]

[1] D. B., I. 193 b 1. [2] *Id.*, II. 385 b. [3] *Id.*, I. 303 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 299 a 1. [5] *Id.*, II. 22.

THE GREAT SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR

[LENT BY THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY]

CHAPTER VI

THE MAGNATES

"Quis tenuit eam T. R. E.? Quis modo tenet?"

NEXT to the questions relating to the assessment area and value of the various properties, these were the most important questions propounded to the Cambridgeshire jurors. It was necessary for the King to know, not only the sum which any property would pay to the geld, but also the person liable for that payment. The name of the pre-Conquest landowner is given with the strictest regularity in every county except Oxfordshire, where it is given only in a few cases.

In the first and foremost position in the list of landowners came the King, a position to which King William was entitled, not only because he was King, but because he was the largest individual landowner in the kingdom. Domesday Book shows that over 15 per cent. of the cultivated land of England was, in 1086, in the possession of the King. More than 15 per cent. of the teams were that year employed on "Terra Regis," and these estates were widely distributed. Terra Regis is recorded in every county except Shropshire and Cheshire, although in Middlesex the Conqueror had only 12½ acres of "no man's land," and the land on which dwelt thirty-two cottagers, from which he derived an income of £1 7*s.* 6½*d.*[1] This large territory came to King William by two main titles—to some he

[1] See Table A.

succeeded as heir of Edward the Confessor; other lands escheated to him on account of the rebellion of their former owners. The Rev. G. S. Taylor has analyzed the Terra Regis in Gloucestershire as follows:—

	Hides.	Teams.
The old estates of the Crown	250	... $512\frac{1}{2}$
Lands of Queen Edith	14	... 35
„ „ the earldom	10	... 23
Escheats (1) of the Bishop of Bayeux ...	$28\frac{1}{2}$	
(2) of Earl Roger of Hereford ...	$124\frac{1}{2}$	... 229
(3) of various thegns	$14\frac{1}{2}$	
Lands of Brictric, originally given to Queen Matilda and reverting to the King at her death	$203\frac{3}{4}$	... $209\frac{1}{2}$
	$645\frac{1}{4}$	... 1009

The county in which the King had the largest estates was Devon, where his property may be analyzed as follows:—

	Teams.	Rents. £	s.	d.
Ancient estates of the Crown ...	$279\frac{1}{2}$ ...	237	15	10
Lands of Queen Edith	105 ...	108	0	0
„ „ Matilda	225 ...	175	3	6
Forfeitures of Countess Gytha ...	189 ...	174	15	0
„ „ Asgar	46 ...	28	0	0
„ „ Earl Harold ...	248 ...	186	11	0
„ „ Earl Leofwin ...	61 ...	67	5	0
	$1153\frac{1}{2}$ ...	977	9	4

So that in Devon the bulk of the Terra Regis was composed of forfeited lands, for the gifts which the Conqueror made to his Queen were the lands forfeited by Brictric, son of Alfgar. On the other hand, the lands which had formerly belonged to Harold in Oxfordshire, and which had passed to the King, employed only 19 teams in 1086, while the estates that were of the ancient demesne of the Crown

GREAT SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

[FROM "ENGLISH SEALS," BY REV. J. HARVEY BLOOM]

employed 250 teams; and in Bedfordshire the proportion of forfeitures to ancient demesne was 6½ to 166 teams. It would seem that of the land in the possession of King William, only some 40 per cent. had been in the possession of the Confessor, although it must be remembered that William had granted to one or other of his subjects a few properties that had belonged to his predecessor; and that while he owned in Sussex sufficient land to employ 44 teams only, yet the Confessor had owned lands on which 240 teams were employed in 1086. Parts of this land had been granted by the Conqueror to the grandees among whom Sussex had been divided. The income derived by the King from his large estates amounted to a little under £14,000 a year; and in addition he received large sums from the counties and the boroughs.

There was a further difference between the two Kings. Edward was merely King of the English, William was both Lord and King,—he was a feudal lord. The forfeitures of the English who had been in arms against him had given him by far the greater part of the land of England, and when he rewarded his followers by gifts of these lands, these gifts were not absolute grants, but were grants of perpetual tenancies upon condition, express or implied, that the grantees performed some service or other for his benefit. So long as this service was performed, the tenancy continued; but if it was neglected, the land reverted to the King. On almost every page of Domesday Book we find statements that the lands in question were "held of the King." Even the conquered English, who made terms with the Conqueror, received back their lands on these conditions.

"Alwin the priest holds the sixth part of a hide" at Turvey (Beds), "and held it T. R. E., and could do what he liked with it; King William afterwards gave it to him in alms, on condition that he should perform two ferial masses (*ferias missas*) for the souls of the King and Queen twice a week." [1]

[1] D. B., I. 218 b 2.

Another point to be noticed is that Domesday Book makes no distinction between King William's private possessions and the Crown lands. To-day, Sandringham is King Edward's private property, and Windsor is Crown land. Such distinctions are too subtle for the Domesday Commissioners, who classed all the land occupied by the King as "Terra Regis," whether it was his by inheritance from King Edward or by the forfeiture of those who had fought against him. There is a passage in the Norfolk Domesday which speaks of lands belonging to the kingdom, which had been given by the Confessor to Earl Ralph ;[1] and in both Norfolk and Suffolk certain lands are described as being "Terra Regis de regione ;"[2] but in these passages the contrast appears to be between the ancient demesne of the Crown and the lands that had been forfeited to the King.

Next to the King in the list of landowners come the dignitaries of the Church, the archbishops and bishops of the English sees, and the heads of various abbeys—English and foreign—that held land in England ; among them appear the names of some foreign bishops who held lands, not *jure ecclesiæ*, but *jure baroniæ*, not as Churchmen, but as statesmen. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, the King's half-brother and nephew, held large estates which were not annexed to the sees they held, and on this account their possessions are excluded from the calculations which follow.

Omitting Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Suffolk, where the figures are so involved that a calculation is impossible to one whose time is limited, the possessions of the Church represented 25 per cent. of the assessment of the country in 1066, and 26½ per cent. of its cultivated area in 1086 ; but, as in the case of the royal possessions, these lands were unequally distributed. South of the Thames, the Church paid 38¾ per cent. of the geld in 1066, and owned 31¼ per cent. of the

[1] D. B., II. 119 b. [2] *Id.*, II. 144, 281 b.

Map shewing
PERCENTAGES OF CHURCH PROPERTY
in the English Counties
IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY
Statute Miles
0 25 50
Figures shewing the Hidage in 1066 shewn thus 10·4
Do. do. the Teams employed in 1086 do. 11·5
York
11·1
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
Cheshire
8·8
9·8
Derby
7·9
14·5
Notts.
15·3
10·4
Lincoln
11·3
18·6
Stafford
16·7
Salop
13·4
25·7
6·5
Leicester
8·3
Norfolk
14·1
29·9
45·3
Hunts.
47·7
Cam-
bridge
31·4
13·4
Warwick
21·4
22
65·5
Worcester
15·4
52·9
24·6
Hereford
29·6
Northampton
9·1
Bedford
8·1
10
Bucks.
23·2
Oxford
22·5
10·5
35
Hertford
32·4
Essex
21·8
31·5
Gloucester
31·8
29·2
Berks.
29·8
46·9
Wilts.
38·5
34
Somerset
33·2
39·5
Hants.
35·6
29·6
Surrey
25·6
44·8
Kent
54·
21·7
Sussex
19·5
20
Devon
18·7
39·8
Dorset
44
25·5
Cornwall
ENGLISH CHANNEL

land that was cultivated in 1086. North of the Thames, the Church paid only 18½ per cent. of the geld, while it owned 22 per cent. of the land that was cultivated. More than half of the cultivated area of Kent and Worcestershire belonged to the Church, which, however, owned less than one-tenth of Bedfordshire, Leicestershire, and Derbyshire. In the four Danish shires of Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, the Church owned less than 11¼ per cent. of the cultivated land; while in the three shires of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, which represent the old kingdom of the Hwiccas, it owned 36 per cent. These figures appear to show that the Kings of Wessex were more lavish in their gifts to the Church than the Kings of Mercia, and that the Church suffered much from the Danish invasions. Again, there is a strip of country between the Thames and the Wash, comprising the four counties of Middlesex, Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, where the Church owned 39 per cent. of the cultivated land.[1]

Domesday Book mentions the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and thirteen suffragan bishops—those of Rochester, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, London, Lincoln, Thetford, Worcester, Hereford, Chester, and Durham. As would be expected, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the wealthiest prelate. His estates in seven counties were assessed at 992½ hides in 1066, and employed 1631¼ teams in 1086. Omitting his large estates in Yorkshire, much of which was waste, and in Durham, which is omitted from Domesday Book, the Archbishop of York owned land which was assessed at 256 hides in 1066, and employed 555¼ teams in 1086. The wealthiest suffragan bishop was the Bishop of Winchester, whose land employed 1030 teams in 1086; but he was nearly approached by the Bishop of Worcester, with 1000 teams, and the Bishop of Exeter with 909½ teams. The two poorest sees were those of Rochester, with 118 teams, and Chichester, with 148.[2]

[1] See Table A.

[2] See Table B.

One expression in Domesday Book reminds us that sometimes the bishop took his title from the district over which he ruled rather than from the town where his see was fixed. "In this manor of Hoxne was the seat of the bishopric of Suffolk.[1]

The Church land was about equally divided between the bishops and the abbeys; but the lands of the monasteries where the bishops resided were reckoned among the possessions of their sees; thus the lands of Worcester Abbey were reckoned as part of the possessions of the Bishop of Worcester, and the lands of St. Paul's Cathedral were included among the lands of the Bishop of London. In many cases it is impossible to distinguish between the lands of the bishop and the lands of the monastery. The bishop acted as abbot of the monastery where was his cathedral church, and deputed its government to a prior. There was no abbey which owned as much cultivated land as the wealthiest bishops. The richest abbey was that of Glastonbury, on whose lands 683½ teams were employed in 1086; next to it came the Confessor's foundation of Westminster, whose lands in fourteen counties were assessed at 583½ hides in 1066, and employed 597½ teams in 1086; in addition to his large estates in Suffolk, the Abbot of Ely employed 535 teams on his lands; Peterborough Abbey had lands employing 476 teams; and the possessions of Ramsey Abbey employed 440 teams. The Church of St. Michael in the place of Battle had land for 134½ teams only, while Bath Abbey employed only 80 teams, and Burton only 31½.

From the chartularies of the Benedictine abbeys that have been preserved, we know that certain estates were assigned to certain of the abbey officials, to enable them to perform the duties of their offices. Domesday Book takes no notice of these assignments, except in a few cases, where it is stated that certain lands were assigned for the victuals or the clothing of the monks. The bordars on the inland of St. Martin paid 60*s.* for shoes for the canons of St. Martin;[2] and the

[1] D. B., II. 379. [2] *Id.*, I. 2 a 2.

small borough of Seasalter pertained to the kitchen of the Archbishop of Canterbury;[1] the profits of the borough of Sandwich were applied to the purchase of clothing for the monks of Canterbury.[2]

There were twenty-eight foreign churches holding lands of the King in England in 1086, and a few held of the magnates. Edith, the Queen of Edward the Confessor, had given Periton in Somerset to the Church of St. Peter at Rome;[3] and Edward the Confessor had suppressed the rich Abbey of Deerhurst, in Gloucestershire, and had divided its possessions between his new foundation at Westminster and the Church of St. Denys at Paris.[4] The Conqueror himself had been lavish in his gifts of English land to the Churches of St. Stephen and the Holy Trinity at Caen; but with this exception and that of Battle Abbey, his gifts to the Church were few compared with those of the earlier kings. Altogether the lands of the foreign abbeys which were held of the King employed only 666 teams in 1086,—less than 1 per cent. of the cultivated land.

One gift of the Confessor requires a little more notice. He had given to the Abbey of Fécamp the large estates of Brede in East Sussex, and Steyning in Mid-Sussex; but Brede included the rising ports of Rye and Winchelsea, and Steyning was close to Shoreham, and it has been suggested that he made these gifts to a foreign abbey to secure landing-places for his cousin William when he should come to claim his own. Harold, however, had his suspicions as to the meaning of these gifts, and confiscated Steyning during his short reign, so that Domesday Book records him as the owner "at the end of the reign of King Edward."[5] But yet a third Sussex port was practically in the hands of a foreign ecclesiastic. The Confessor had granted the wealthy Church of Bosham to his Norman chaplain Osbern, whom he afterwards

[1] D. B., I. 5 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 3 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 92 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 166 a 2.
[5] *Id.*, I. 17 a 2.

promoted to the bishopric of Exeter; but Osbern was brother of William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, who was of kin to both the Conqueror and the Confessor; and Bosham was itself a seaport, and it was thence that Harold started on his ill-fated voyage which finished in the dungeons of the Count of Ponthieu; and Bosham with Thorney Island command Chichester harbour.[1]

We have noticed that William was not a large benefactor of the English Church, and it should be remembered that the foundation which proportionately lost most property under the Conquest was Harold's one foundation of the Holy Rood at Waltham, whose possessions at Lambeth and Streatham passed to the Count of Mortain.[2] Sometimes the Church lost property which had been granted on lease to a tenant who was also the tenant of a third party; and on the grant of the forfeitures of this third party, the Church was, perhaps by inadvertence, deprived of its land. Thus Alfred Black held lands of the abbeys of Westminster and St. Albans in Hertfordshire, but for other lands he had commended himself to Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury. After Stigand's death, all these lands passed to Lanfranc, Stigand's successor, and so were lost to the abbeys.[3]

Two other points in connection with the large estates of the abbeys require notice. Possibly it may be a sign of the deeper religious feelings of the eleventh century, when we find that the Commissioners for the eastern counties often recorded the saint to whom a monastery was dedicated, as the actual owner of the lands of that monastery. Saint Bene't of Hulme, Saint Benedict of Ramsey, St. Etheldreda of Ely, and Saint Edmund, are all in so many words stated to hold land in Norfolk. Saint Edmund was entitled to the sake and soke and commendation of certain freemen in Suffolk;[4] and in one passage Saint Paul is actually represented as a trespasser at Navestock: "Sanctus Paulus invasit."[5]

[1] *F. E.*, 320.
[2] D. B., I. 34 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 133 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 365 b.
[5] *Id.*, II. 13.

Usually lands were given to an abbey for the good of the donor's soul. Thus Alnod of London gave Tooting to Westminster Abbey for his soul;[1] but occasionally the father of a person who entered a monastery gave land to that monastery as an endowment for his child. Walter of Laci gave Coleshill (Berks) to the Abbey of St. Mary at Winchester with his daughter.[2] Toret gave two hides at Laverstoke (Wilts.) to Wilton Abbey with his two daughters, and "from these lands they were clothed, till the Bishop of Bayeux wrongfully took them away from the Church."[3]

Attention has been called to the fact that the Commissioners did not draw any distinction between the private possessions of the King and the Crown lands, but they did realize the difference between the private possessions of a bishop and the lands of his see. T. R. E. Bishop Peter held two-thirds of the Church at Wantage, with 4 hides: "now the King has them, because they were not of the see (*quia non erant de episcopatu*)."[4] And a distinction is drawn between the private estate of William, Bishop of London, in Essex, and those of his see. Some of the former he gave to increase the endowment of the bishopric.

Some idea of the surroundings of one of the large monasteries may be gathered from a study of the statistics of the vill "where lies buried St. Edmund, the glorious King and Martyr."[5] T. R. E. there were 118 freemen with fifty-two bordars under them, fifty-four poor freemen, and forty-three almsfolk, each of whom occupied a cottage. At the time when the statistics were compiled there were there thirty priests, deacons, and clerics, and twenty-eight nuns and poor folk, "who daily prayed for the King and all Christian people;" there were also seventy-five bakers, brewers, laundry-folk, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, porters, and stewards, "who likewise daily

[1] D. B., I. 32 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 59 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 68 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 57 a 1.
[5] *Id.*, II. 372.

served the Saint and the Abbot and the brethren;" besides these, there were thirteen tenants of the reeves land who had houses in the same vill, with five bordars under them, and thirty-four knights, French and English, with twenty-two bordars under them. In all there were 342 houses, and yet St. Edmund's Bury is not styled a borough.

After the Church property had been entered in Domesday Book, the scribes proceeded to register the estates of the lay landowners according to their rank and wealth, and the earls naturally took the first place. But here we must notice a great change produced by the Conquest. Edward's earls divided the country between them, and rivalled the King in power. William appointed earls only for those parts of the kingdom which were the most liable to invasion.

Mr. Freeman has devoted many pages to a discussion of the earldoms under Edward the Confessor, and has printed two maps showing their extent in the years 1045 and 1065 respectively.[1] We are not concerned with their history; but to form some idea of the state of England on the day that King Edward was "quick and dead," the latter map must be looked at. It shows that in 1065 the whole country was divided between six earls, as follows:—

1. Morcar, who had jurisdiction over the whole of England north of the Ouse and Ribble—the old Northumbria.

2. Edwin, who was Earl of Mercia, comprising the shires of Chester, Salop., Stafford, Worcester, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, Notts., and Lincoln.

3. Waltheof, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon.

4. Gurth, Earl of Oxfordshire,[2] Bedfordshire, Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

[1] *Norman Conquest*, II. App. G.

[2] In spite of the writs of the Confessor addressed to Gurth as Earl of Oxfordshire, there can be no doubt that the county was at one time part of the Mercian earldom: for Domesday Book distinctly states that "T. R. E. the city of Oxford rendered £20 to the King and £10 to Earl Alfgar," Earl of Mercia, till his death in 1062 (D. B., I. 154 a 1), thus showing that the third penny of the city was once paid to the Earl of Mercia.

5. Leofwin, Earl of Bucks, Herts, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and Kent.

6. Harold, Earl of Wessex, comprising all the country south of the Thames except Surrey and Kent, with the addition of Gloucester and Hereford.

Of these, Edwin and Morcar were the sons of Alfgar, who had preceded the former in the earldom of Mercia, and Harold Gurth and Leofwin were the sons of Godwin. Tostig, another son of Godwin, had been Earl of Northumbria till 1065, when the Northumbrians expelled him and forced the King to put Morcar in his place.

The internal history of the reign of Edward the Confessor is a record of the struggles between the families of Godwin and Alfgar for the King's support, and, till the expulsion of Tostig from Northumbria, Godwin's family was most favoured. The events accompanying this expulsion show that this family feud was shared by the inhabitants of the several earldoms. The Northumbrians then raided Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, and wrought so much damage that it had not been repaired twenty years later, as is shown by the large number of houses in Oxford (478 out of 721) which were "so waste and destroyed that they could not pay geld" in 1086.[1] Possibly Harold would have won the battle of Hastings if Edwin and Morcar had brought the Mercian and Northumbrian forces to his support.

The deaths, at Hastings, of Harold, Gurth, and Leofwin vacated their earldoms, out of which the Conqueror created four smaller earldoms. Ralph Guader became Earl of Norfolk; William fitz Osbern became Earl of Hereford; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was made Earl of Kent; and the earldom of Cornwall was given to the Count of Mortain. Edwin was killed in 1071, and the Mercian earldom was given to Waltheof, who soon afterwards married Judith, the Conqueror's niece. But Waltheof was not satisfied, and in 1075 joined

[1] D. B., I. 154 a 1.

Ralph, Earl of Norfolk, and Roger, who had succeeded his father in the earldom of Hereford in 1070, in a conspiracy for which they all suffered the death-penalty, when their earldoms reverted to the Crown. Morcar, too, had been involved in Hereward's rebellion, and, after forfeiting his earldom, was imprisoned till the death of the Conqueror.

After the large English earldoms had been thus suppressed, William, who had learnt wisdom from the troubles of the Confessor and his own experience in Normandy, was most careful not to revive them; but in their place he created earls of single shires in those parts of the kingdom which were most liable to attack. For this purpose he had given the earldoms of Kent and Cornwall to his half-brothers, Odo and Robert. A new earldom of Durham was created and annexed to the bishopric. Alan, one of his Breton followers, was made Earl of Richmond, in North-West Yorkshire; Hugh of Avranches was made Earl of Cheshire; and Roger Montgomery was made Earl of Shropshire. The last two would secure the western frontier against the Welsh; the earldoms of Durham and Richmond would secure the northern frontier against the Scots; and his two half-brothers were earls of those two peninsulas which were most exposed to attack. The earldoms of Norfolk and Hereford, which had been created within a few years of the Conquest, lapsed after the rebellion of 1075. It is said that William created Walter Gifard Earl of Buckingham, Henry of Ferrars Earl of Derby, and William of Warenne Earl of Surrey; but Domesday Book does not apply the title of "earl" to any of these, and although the two former were large landowners in their respective counties, William of Warenne did not own a single acre in Surrey.

Every earl owned large estates in the county over which he had jurisdiction. Some of these were undoubtedly "comital manors," and were annexed to the earldom as part of the emoluments of the office. Certain houses in Stafford were

held as "of the earl's honour (*de honore comitis*)," [1] and those manors to which the third penny of the pleas of the hundred or the shire were annexed would seem also to have been comital manors. But some of the earls held lands outside their earldoms. Devon was included in Harold's earldom of Wessex, and some of his lands in that county were forfeited to the Conqueror; but Earl Leofwin also held lands in that county, and his lands likewise fell to the Conqueror. In addition to the lands he held, the earl received the third penny of the pleas of the hundred and the shire, and the third penny of the profits of the boroughs. Almost the only evidence in Domesday Book to show that the Bishop of Bayeux was Earl of Kent, is the statement that he granted to the monks of St. Augustine's the third penny of the borough of Fordwich, to which he was entitled as Earl of Kent.[2]

Some idea of the powers of the pre-Conquest earl can be gained from the Domesday statistics relating to Shropshire and Cheshire. We have already noticed that the King held no lands in either of these shires. "In Cheshire the Bishop of the City holds of the King what pertains to his own see. All the rest of the County is held of the King by Earl Hugh and his men." [3] In Shropshire there were eight or nine persons who held direct of the King; "Earl Roger holds the rest with his men." [4] Each earl received the King's share of the profits of his county borough, and it would seem as though he was at liberty to raid Wales as he pleased. Both these earls held extensive estates in other parts of the kingdom. Earl Roger held about one-third of Sussex with the city of Chichester and the castle of Arundel, and it would seem as if here too he exercised the privileges of an earl, and appointed his own sheriff; but otherwise they had no higher privileges than their neighbours.

As was but natural, the Conqueror's two half-brothers,

[1] D. B., I. 246 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 12 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 262 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 252 a 1.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, Count of Mortain, received the largest proportionate share of the lands of the conquered English. Each had estates in twenty counties, and, as we have seen, the former became Earl of Kent, and the latter Earl of Cornwall; but the Earl of Kent was engaged in a conspiracy in 1082, and was thereupon arrested, and his lands were taken into the King's hands. Nevertheless, except in Sussex, Berks, and Gloucester, no notice is taken of this forfeiture, and his lands are all entered under the rubric "Land of the Bishop of Bayeux." Their united possessions amounted to about one-sixth of the cultivated land, but the share of the count was slightly larger than that of the bishop.[1] Mr. Pearson estimates the value of the estates of the Bishop of Bayeux at £3384, and those of the Count of Mortain to have been worth nearly £2000.[2]

For the same reason that William suppressed the larger earldoms of his predecessor, so he was most careful that none of his subjects should possess a compact block of territory in which he could raise forces for a possible rebellion, and for this reason the lands he gave to his brothers did not lie in a compact block, but were scattered over a score of counties, so that if either wished to rebel he would have to elude the watchfulness of a score of sheriffs. Even in the counties in which they were earls, less than one-half of the cultivated land belonged to them. Even where one man received a considerable share of a single county, his estates did not lie in a compact block. Two-fifths of Oxfordshire belonged to the Bishop of Bayeux, Robert of Ouilly, Roger of Ivry, and Miles Crispin; but their estates were well intermixed, so that any rebellion in the county must have been supported by all four to have had the slightest chance of success. The lands of the Count of Mortain, in Bucks, in 1086, employed one hundred teams; but these estates lay in fourteen out of the eighteen hundreds into which the county was divided.

[1] See Table A.

[2] *Hist. Eng.*, i. 384.

The one exception to this rule was in Sussex, which was divided into five rapes, and these rapes were granted *en bloc* to favoured followers of the Conqueror. The rape and borough of Hastings became the property of the Count of Eu. The Count of Mortain received the rape and borough of Pevensey; William of Warenne received the rape and borough of Lewes; William of Braiose received the rape of Bramber; while the borough of Steyning remained the property of the Abbey of Fécamp; and Roger Montgomery received those parts of Sussex which were afterwards the rapes of Chichester and Arundel. But each of these rapes contained isolated blocks of land belonging to ecclesiastics. It is not difficult to surmise what was in the mind of the Conqueror when he thus departed from his usual custom. He wished the Sussex ports to be in the hands of his most trusted retainers, to secure his retreat to Normandy should such a step be necessary; but he wished also to secure that no single magnate of Sussex should be in a position to head a successful revolt.

Although no general rule on the subject is ever laid down, yet it is easy to see from Domesday Book the principles on which the Conqueror acted in rewarding those who had fought for him. Except in Sussex, he never or rarely granted to any one of them a specific hundred or a specific area, but he usually gave the forfeited estates of a certain Englishman to the follower whom he delighted to honour. Mr. Round has pointed out that Ansgar the Staller was invariably succeeded by Geoffrey of Mandeville in Middlesex, Herts, Bucks., Oxon., Northants, Warwick, Berks., and Essex; and the men of the hundred disputed his title to Clapham, "because it was not the land of Ansgar."[1] A few other cases may be quoted. The Bishop of Coutances succeeded Borred in Bedford and Northants, and claimed the homage of the sokemen of Risden, Irenchester, and Raunds, because they were the men of Borred;[2] Ralph Pagenel succeeded Merleswegen in Devon,

[1] D. B., I. 36 a 2.

[2] *Id.*, I. 225 b 2.

Somerset, Gloucester, Yorkshire, and Lincoln; Osbern Gifard succeeded Dunne in Gloucestershire, but the shire said that his title to Aldbury was doubtful because "it did not belong to the land which Dunne formerly held;"[1] Geoffrey Alselin succeeded Tochi in York, Lincoln, Notts., Derby, Leicester, and Northants; and Hugh of Grentmaisnil succeeded Baldwin fitz Herlwin in the counties of Gloucester, Oxford, Warwick, Northampton, and Leicester. It is therefore clear that the custom that no man should have a compact block of land in any county dates back before the Conquest.

There were a few fortunate Englishmen who retained possession of their ancestral estates after the Conquest, and some, indeed, who increased their wealth. But the latter were men who had been prominent as opponents of the house of Godwin. Turchil of Warwick succeeded to his father's estates in Warwickshire, employing forty-one teams in 1086, and had increased them to 228½ teams by his gifts from the Conqueror and his encroachments on smaller freeholders; and Leofwin of Nuneham retained possession of his property in Bucks. But such survivals were few. Not one per cent. of the country was owned (*i.e.* held of the King) in 1086 by the same men as had owned it in 1066, or by the sons or widows of the previous owners. Such survivors are most common in Hampshire, including the New Forest and the Isle of Wight; but they were owners of very small properties, and the lands owned by forty-three such survivors employed only sixty-two and a half teams in 1086.[2] Sometimes the Englishmen remained as tenants on the lands they previously owned. "Ailric holds four hides in Marsh Gibbon of William fitz Ansculf. . . . The same man held them T. R. E., but now holds them at farm of William heavily and miserably (*graviter et miserabiliter*)."[3] And the English owners remained as tenants on seven or eight of Turchil's estates in Warwickshire.[4]

[1] D. B., I. 168 b 1.
[2] See Table A.
[3] D. B., I. 148 b 2.
[4] *V. C. H.*, *Warwick*, i. 284.

The persons holding directly of the King kept some of their estates in their own hands, and granted others to under-tenants. Students must remember to distinguish between the two usages of the word "demesne." Sometimes it implies those estates which a magnate kept in his own hands, and of which he received the produce; sometimes it is opposed to those portions of a single estate which were let to tenants, in which case it implies the part of the estate which was cultivated as a home farm.

It must also be remembered that a man who held of the King in chief was often the mesne tenant of one or more of the county magnates. Thus Hugh de Porth held in Hampshire fifty-six manors of the King in chief, thirteen of the estates of the Bishop of Bayeux, and others of the Bishop of Winchester, the Old Minster, the New Minster, Chertsey Abbey, and Walter fitz Roger.[1]

On passing from the magnates to their mesne tenants, we are at once met with a large number of knights. On the estates of the Bishop of Lincoln in Oxfordshire, there were five knights at Thame, six at Dorchester, two at Milton, eight at Cropredy, and five at Banbury; the Abbot of Eynsham had three knights at Eynsham, and the Abbot of Abingdon had one knight at Tadmarton.

At Westminster there were twenty-five houses of the knights and of other men of the abbot.[2] The description of the lands of the Archbishop of Canterbury in Kent is followed by a list of the lands of his knights; and in many cases where the bishops and monasteries are returned as landowners, we read of knights who held under them. Who, then, were these knights? and what were their duties?

The pre-Conquest customs relative to military service have been already referred to (p. 69), and show that, T. R. E., the rule was that one heavy-armed soldier should be furnished by every 5-hide unit, and that each hide gave him 4*s.* for his

[1] *V. C. H.*, *Hants*, i. 422.

[2] D. B., I. 128 a 2.

victuals and pay for two months. When a 5-hide unit became divided, there must have been disputes as to the person who should serve. Hence we find arrangements, as in Lincolnshire, where Siwate and his three brothers divided their father's lands equally, T. R. E., and held them on condition that if there was an expedition, and Siwate could go, his brothers aided him; failing him, the second went, and Siwate and the others aided him; and so of all. Yet Siwate was the King's man (and was, therefore, the person nominally liable).[1] Again, at Durnford (Wilts.), three Englishmen held 3 hides of the Church of Wilton, of whom two paid 5*s.* a year, and the third served as a thegn.[2] Evidently when the sheriff called out the fyrd, the third was the only one to go. The penalty imposed on defaulters was the forfeiture of all their lands to the King;[3] but this rule was modified in Worcestershire by the proviso that if the defaulter was under a lord, and the lord found a substitute, he paid a penalty of 40*s.* to his lord; so that it would appear that some magnates were in the habit of raising the contingent of the fyrd which was due from their own lands. Domesday Book shows that even before the Conquest, certain bishops had been accustomed to send their contingents to the fyrd under the leadership of one of their own men. The tenants of the Bishop of Worcester followed his flag and served under his captain, and the fyrdwites—the penalties for neglect to serve—were collected in his courts and paid to him. The bishop claimed that the tenants of Bengeworth and Hampton, belonging to the Abbot of Evesham, should serve in his contingent with the other men of the hundred of Oswaldslaw, and his claim was allowed by the court.[4] And similarly the tenants of certain lands dependent on Taunton served on expeditions with the men of the Bishop of Winchester.[5] The term "thegn" was applied to the heavy-armed soldier, and we therefore read in Domes-

[1] D. B., I. 375 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 67 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 56 b 1; 172 a 1.
[4] *V. C. H.*, *Worcester*, 249. [5] D. B., I. 87 b 1.

day Book of the King's thegns and of the thegns of Earl Harold and of the various monasteries. At the death of a thegn holding of the King, the King had as a relief all his arms and two horses, the one saddled and the other unsaddled. If he had hounds or hawks, they were presented to the King, if he would accept them.[1]

The rules relating to military service after the Conquest differed materially from the pre-Conquest rules. Mr. Round has investigated the whole subject,[2] and has shown that there were two main points of difference. Although in the thirteenth century there appears to be some connection between a knight's fee—the area which was considered necessary to support a knight—and an estate of 5 hides, yet this knight's fee had no connection with the unit of 5 hides which provided a thegn for the fyrd. The number of knights provided by the barons of the twelfth century was not fixed by the number of hides at which they were assessed. These numbers were always multiplies of five, and usually multiples of ten ; and Mr. Round connects these figures with the unit of the feudal host —the English constabularia of ten knights—and is decidedly in favour of the opinion of the older writers that the Conqueror granted the forfeited lands of the conquered English to his foreign followers on condition that they should furnish him with varying contingents of mounted men. The churches, however, did not owe their lands to the bounty of the Conqueror. How is it, then, that we find knights on episcopal and monastic estates? Matthew Paris tells us that in 1070 King William fixed, "according to his will," the number of knights to be furnished by each bishop and abbot; and although Dr. Stubbs rejects this statement as "a mistaken account," it is accepted by Mr. Round, who finds it in perfect agreement with the Exchequer records which he produces. That this number had no relation to the 5-hide unit is proved by a few figures showing the number of hides at which the

[1] D. B., I. 56 b 1.

[2] *F. E.*, 225–314.

estates of certain of the bishops and abbots were assessed in 1066, and the number of knights they furnished in the twelfth century.

	Hidage (1066).	Knights (1166).
Archbishop of Canterbury ...	992½	60
Bishop of Winchester ...	1195	60
„ Worcester ...	567	60 (50)
Abbot of Abingdon ...	606¼	30
„ Glastonbury ...	891½	60
„ St. Albans ...	167	6[1]

So that it would seem that in fixing the contingent to be supplied by each church the Conqueror disregarded the old 5-hide unit, and proceeded on entirely different principles.

When once the Crown had fixed the number of knights it expected from any tenant *in capite*, the latter would make arrangements so that his contingent should be always ready for service. The Abbot of Ely tried the experiment of keeping his contingent on the abbey premises, and maintaining them out of the abbey kitchen ; but after a time he found this too expensive, and he therefore granted them lands where they might support themselves, on condition that they should serve in the King's expeditions when required.[2] Possibly the record of the houses of the knights at Westminster indicates that there, too, some of the knights whom the abbot was bound to furnish, resided in the purlieus of the abbey, and were maintained at the abbey kitchen. We therefore understand why there were twenty-six knights on the Oxfordshire estates of the Bishop of Lincoln, and why the Archbishop of Canterbury enfeoffed certain knights in Kent. The holdings of these knights varied in assessment. The Bishop of London had five knights at Clacton, who held 4 hides between them.[3] The holdings of the knights of the Bishop of Lincoln at Dorchester (Oxon.) were 7¾, 6½, 5½, 2, and 5 hides respectively, but this last 5-hide holding was held by Rainald and Vitalis

[1] See also Table B. [2] *F. E.*, 300. [3] D. B., II. 11.

jointly.[1] At Cropredy a knight held 1 hide and 1 virgate only.[2] From these lands they had to maintain themselves, and, unlike the pre-Conquest thegn, they were aided by no man. Sometimes the mesne tenants shifted their responsibility. Wadard held Ditton of the Bishop of Bayeux: "He who holds of Wadard renders him 50*s.* a year and the service of one knight."[3]

But the chief difference between the pre-Conquest rules for military service and those of the twelfth century was that at the later period the summons for service was addressed to the lord, who was responsible for the attendance of his own contingent, and enforced the attendance of his knights by distraint if necessary, while in the earlier times the summons was sent by the sheriff to the individuals who were liable to serve in person. But traces of the later practice were to be found before the Conquest.

Last in the list of the King's tenants in the different counties appear those who held small estates of the King in chief. They were called by various names—the King's serjeants (*servientes*), the King's ministers, the King's vavassours, and the King's thegns. But there was a difference between the King's serjeants and ministers on the one hand and his vavassours and thegns on the other—the latter held by knight service, the former by tenure in serjeantry; in other words, the serjeants and ministers held their lands on condition of performing some more or less menial service about the King's court. The distinction between thegns and serjeants is clearly drawn in the indices to the counties in the south-western circuit, although occasionally a holding in serjeantry is recorded among those of the thegns. Thus Leviet held Cunuche (Wilts.): "This Leviet did and does orfrey work for the King and Queen."[4] But it is rare to find any statement of the precise service rendered by any tenant in serjeantry. These

[1] D. B., I. 155 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 155 b 1.
[3] *Id.*, 32 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 74 a 2.

must be supplied from later sources—the Black or Red Books of the Exchequer, or the Testa de Nevill. In Hampshire, Miles the porter is returned among the serjeants as holding Bramdean.[1] Mr. Round refers to the Testa de Nevill to show that this estate was held by the service of keeping the King's gaol at Winchester.[2] Among the ministers of the King in Oxfordshire was Alwi, who held 2 hides less ½ virgate at Worton.[3] The Testa de Nevill shows that Robert fitz Alan held 1½ carucate there by the service of bearing a pennon before the infantry of the hundred of Wootton. Pre-Conquest traces of tenure in serjeantry can be found: Wenesi held certain lands in Hampshire by services connected with the goats;[4] and Alwin held ½ hide of the King's demesne at Akeley (Bucks.) for teaching orfrey work to the sheriff's daughter.[5]

It is under the headings of the King's vavassours and thegns that we find the names of most of the Englishmen who, on their submission to the Conqueror, had retained their lands; but of them we have already spoken.

[1] D. B., I. 49 b 1.
[2] *V. C. H.*, *Hants*, i. 431.
[3] D. B., I. 161 a 1.
[4] D. B., I. 47 a 2.
[5] *Id.*, I. 149 a 2.

CHAPTER VII

THE HUMBLER FOLK

"Quot villani? quot cotarii? quot servi?
Quot liberi homines? quot sochemanni?
Quantum ibi quisque liber homo vel sochemannus habuit vel habet?"

OF all the questions which were propounded to the Cambridgeshire jurors there are probably none which are the subject of greater discussion at the present day than those which are given in the heading to this chapter. The distinctions between these five classes of humbler folk, though certainly well known to the jurors, have hitherto eluded research, and the last word on the subject has yet to be written. These five classes may roughly be classed together as the cultivating occupiers; not that some of those whom we have previously been considering were not actually engaged in the manual labours of cultivation. In all probability, many of those who were classed as the King's vavassours, the King's thegns, and the King's serjeants, were the actual cultivators of the land they occupied, or, at all events, superintended its cultivation. But in this chapter we have to consider the position of those who were engaged in agriculture, and nothing but agriculture. It would, however, be misleading to call them "the labouring classes." The landless farm labourer of the present day is the product of later ages, and is an anomaly in Domesday Book.

But here it is absolutely necessary to connect the evidence of Domesday Book with that of the periods before and after the Conquest, and it will be most convenient to consider the evidence relating to these men under four heads — the evidence of the pre-Conquest documents; the evidence of Domesday Book for the two periods for which it gives information; and the post-Domesday evidence.

I. PRE-CONQUEST DOCUMENTS

In our discussion of the "hide" we reminded ourselves of the main features of the old open-field system of which distinct evidence can be found before the Conquest, and we saw that the "hide" was the name given to the typical family holding employing one team of eight oxen. The owner of a hide would have 40 acre-strips in each of the three fields, and would render to the King a certain quantity of provisions and certain services. He was further liable to the *trinoda necessitas* — to the duties of repairing the bridges and boroughs, and to service in the fyrd. Such a tenant was called a gafolgelder in the days of Ine; and an interesting fragment of his laws tells us the quantity of provisions that was required from a holding of 10 hides. "From 10 hides to foster, 10 vessels of honey, 300 loaves, 12 ambers of Welsh ale, 30 of clear ale, 2 old (*i.e.* full-grown) oxen or 10 wethers, 10 geese, 20 hens, 10 cheeses, an amber of butter, 5 salmon, 20 lbs. of fodder, and 100 eels."[1] Presumably it would be the duty of the gafolgelder to deliver his quota of provisions at one of the royal manors.

But side by side with the gafolgelders, we find magnates, both lay and ecclesiastic, possessing larger areas, which also lay in scattered strips thoughout the three fields. A part of these estates lay in demesne, and was cultivated as a home farm. Other parts were let to tenants, of whom there were

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 237.

two classes, the superior class providing their own outfit, and furnishing provisions and occasional services at specially busy seasons ; and the humbler class, for whom their lord provided an outfit, who worked two or three days a week on the demesne farm, and in addition performed extra work (boon-work) at specially busy seasons, and furnished a few provisions for their lord's use. In the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, a document of the former half of the eleventh century, the former of these is called a "geneat,"[1] and the latter a "gebur ;"[2] and in addition to the geneats and geburs, that document speaks of a class of cottagers, who occupied some 5 acres of land, and worked one day a week on the demesne farm ; but it must be noticed that both the gebur and the cottager paid "hearthpenny on Holy Thursday, as every freeman should do."[3] When a new gebur was established, it was the custom of his lord to furnish him with his household furniture, a couple of oxen, a cow, and seven sheep, and with 7 acres of land ploughed and sown with corn. And from this Mr. Seebohm has argued that the usual holding of a gebur was a virgate of 30 acres of land. If these 30 acres were distributed in the three fields, the gebur would have 10 acres in each field. The reason why 7 sown acres only were provided for him was, that in the typical manor, on which the Rectitudines was based, it was the duty of the gebur to plough 3 acres and sow them with his own seed for his lord's benefit. Of course the details of the gebur's duties varied in different manors, but it is not impossible that this above-mentioned custom was widespread. The distinction between the geneat and the gebur dates back to the eighth century ; for Ine forbad landlords to exact week-work from those tenants who had agreed to pay gafol—to furnish provisions for their land.[4] When a gebur died or left his land, his entire outfit, including even his household furniture,

[1] L. 445. [2] L. 446. [3] L. 445.
[4] *G. M.*, 239.

reverted to his lord. Hence he was practically *ascriptitius glebæ* (annexed to the soil), for no one, however hardly he was treated, would care to leave his all and go forth penniless into the world.

Finally, this document shows us a class of slaves, who were maintained by their lord. They were either the descendants of the conquered Britons, or men who had fallen into slavery through poverty or inability to pay the fines imposed on them (wite-theows). Geatfled, by her will, emancipated those of her theows "who had bowed their heads for bread in the evil day."[1] Such slaves were bought and sold in the open market, and exported across the seas as part of the commercial produce of the island, and for many years Bristol was a notorious slave-market. There is only one passage in Domesday Book recording market tolls; and the toll paid on the sale of a man at Lewes was 4*d*. In spite of their vendibility, they were treated as men, and not as chattels. If a slave was slain, his kinsfolk received 40*d*. instead of a wergild, and his lord had the man-bot of 30*s*.

The pre-Conquest conveyances imply that, unless the estates of a church or a lay magnate were expressly exempted, they were liable to furnish provisions for the King in the same way as the gafolgelder. It would appear that, until the tenth century, the estate of the Bishop of Winchester at Taunton was liable to provide victual for one night for the King (*pastum unius noctis*), and for his hounds and kennelman and hawkers, and to provide carriage for the King's household and guests to Williton and Cary; but in 904 Edward the Elder released these dues to the bishop in return for 60 hides of land which the bishop gave to the King.[2]

When to-day John Doe purchases the estate of Whiteacre, it is conveyed to him subject to the rights of those who occupy parts of it. The mansion-house, and the park, and the sporting rights are in hand. Some farms are let on

[1] *K.*, 925. [2] *K.*, 1084; *G. M.*, 282.

lease; others on yearly agreements. Possibly some of the houses in the village are let on leases for ninety-nine years, while others are copyhold of the manor of Whiteacre. But, notwithstanding the sale, these tenants all continue in possession of their farms and houses. Similarly, when an English King—say Ethelwulf or Alfred—gave a large estate to a monastery, it would pass to the monastery subject to the rights of the various under-tenants, who possibly were not even referred to in the charter. The monks would enter into possession of the demesne farm, and the geneats and geburs would continue in possession of their lands, subject to their rendering their stated services. Possibly, too, in this grant of the estate might be included any food-rents and services that might be due from the King's gafolgelders living in the vill.

So that we can distinguish five classes of humbler folk in the pre-Conquest village.

1. The "gafolgelder,"[1] rendering food-rents and occasional services to the King or to his grantees.

2. The "geneat," a tenant of the grantee of the estate, and rendering to his landlord similar services to those of the gafolgelder.

3. The "gebur," also a tenant of the grantee, holding a virgate, and rendering to him week-work, boon-work, and small food-rents.

4. The "cottager," holding some 5 acres of the grantee, and rendering to him one day's work a week.

5. The "slave," maintained and housed by his lord.

But it was possible for the gafolgelder to be himself the lord of a manor, and to have geneats, geburs, cottagers, and slaves as his under-tenants and working on his lands.

[1] In using this term of landowners of the time of the Confessor, I plead guilty to an anachronism. For Mr. Chadwick says, "'Gafolgelder' seems not to be used in official documents after the time of Ine" (*Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, 377). But, on the other hand, the word "ceorl" appears to be indiscriminately applied to every freeman, whether dependent or independent.

2. THEIR CONDITION IN 1066

It is only for the eastern counties that the state of the villages in 1066 is recorded ; and here we find villans, bordars, slaves, freemen, and sokemen living side by side ; but the villans, bordars, and slaves are always enumerated in connection with the teams in demesne, while the freemen and sokemen are enumerated separately. Thus—

"St. Edmund held RISBY (Suffolk) for a manor and for two carucates of land. Always 4 villans and 2 bordars, and then two teams in demesne. Now four. Always one team of the tenants. Then 3 slaves & one acre of meadow. Now 3 rounceys and 12 oxen and 30 pigs, & 90 sheep, & 32 goats, and 7 sokemen of one carucate and a half, and one bordar and one slave with three teams. Over these men the Saint has sake and soke and commendation and all custom, nor can they give or sell their land without the concession of the Abbot. . . . In the same (vill) one freeman gave a carucate of land, which Norman holds of the abbot, & 4 bordars & 1 slave & 1 team & 1 acre of meadow. He could give & sell his land, but his sake and soke and commendation remained to the Saint." [1]

Here we notice (1) that the villans, bordars, and slaves are associated with the demesne ; (2) that the sokemen and freemen are dissociated from the demesne ; (3) that the areas of the holdings of the sokemen and the freemen are stated ; (4) that the difference between the sokemen and the freeman lay in the fact that the latter could sell his land, while the sokemen must obtain the permission of their lord before doing so.

In our discussion of the manor we have already laid emphasis on the first of these points ; and the invariability of the rule that wherever demesne is found, villans, bordars, and slaves (or one or another of these classes) are to be found, has led us to conclude that the existence of the

[1] D. B., II. 356 b.

demesne, and therefore of the pre-Conquest manor in Suffolk, was dependent on the existence of the villans, bordars, and slaves. The dissociation of the sokemen and the freemen from the demesne shows that their presence was not essential to the existence of the manor, and this point is emphasized by the number of manors to which were attached no recorded freemen or sokemen, and by the scores of unattached freemen that are recorded. Their being thus extra-manorial was the reason why the Cambridgeshire jurors were asked to state the area of their holdings.

The differentiation between the sokemen and the freemen laid down in the fourth of our deductions, is a general but not invariable rule. On the estates of the Abbey of St. Edmund, in the hundreds of Thinghoe, Lackford, and Babenberg, in Suffolk, there were 128 freemen; and of these 126 could sell, and only two were restrained from selling their land. On the same estates there were 63 sokemen, of whom 58 could not sell, and only five were at liberty to sell their lands. At Copford[1] and Sutton[2] a similar distinction is drawn between the sokemen who could not recede, and the freemen who could go where they wished; or, in other words, could commend themselves to a lord of their own choice. (Mr. Round has shown that this phrase is equivalent to stating that they could sell.) In Essex the statement as to liberty of commendation is rare, but there were 47 freemen with liberty of commendation, of whom it is stated that they could go where they would, and only two who could not recede; there were in that county 107 sokemen who could not recede, and only five who could recede. And Mr. Round has noticed the same distinction on some of the Norfolk properties of the Church of Ely.[3] Hence we see a clearly drawn line between those men who were at liberty to sell their land or to commend themselves to what lord they would, and those who were restrained from doing

[1] D. B., II. 60 b. [2] *Id.*, 96 b. [3] *F. E.*, 34.

so. This line of demarcation is observed in those counties where no nominal distinction is drawn between freemen and sokemen. In these counties both classes are recorded together under one name; in the Eastern Midlands they are all called sokemen; in the southern counties they are called freemen. But if the nominal distinction is disregarded, the essential difference is usually recorded; there is generally a statement as to liberty of or restraint on commendation. Some 65 per cent. of the pre-Conquest sokemen of Cambridgeshire had this liberty.

The dislike of the Domesday scribes to tautology is well known, and there was scarcely any phrase for which they used so many variants as in connection with commendation. Hence it will be useful to set out in parallel columns the various phrases used to express liberty of or restraint on commendation.

They could give and sell their land.	They could not give and sell their land (without licence).
They could recede.	They could not recede (without licence).
They could go where they would with their land.	They could not go where they would with their land.
They could go to another lord.	They could not go to another lord.
	They could not be separated from their lord.

But the distinction between the two classes can be pressed still further. A man who was at liberty to sell his land was said to hold freely: "Algar held Bromley freely and was commended to Wisgar, being at liberty to sell his land;"[1] and Mr. Round quotes a passage from Heming's *Cartulary of Worcester Abbey*, defining a man holding freely as having liberty to sell or to go to whom he would.[2] Occasionally

[1] D. B., II. 40 b. [2] *V. C. H.*, *Worcester*, i. 267.

Domesday Book records of certain men that they were so free as to be able to go where they would or to what lord they would; and in one place[1] a distinction is drawn between two men who held freely and one who could not depart with his land.

A man who held freely was further said to hold of the King: "Orgar held of Miles Crispin four hides at Berwick and one at Gangsdown (Oxon.); these two lands which Orgar holds of Miles he ought to hold of the King, for he and his father and grandfather held them freely T. R. E."[2]

This rule is confirmed by a passage relating to an estate in the hundred of Wantage—

"Azor the steward held one hide T. R. E., and could go with it where he would. Now (in 1086) he holds it of Robert of Ouilly; but the hundred says he ought to hold it of the King; for King William restored it to him at Windsor, and gave him his writ. Robert holds it unjustly, for no one has seen the King's writ or man on his part to put him into possession."[3]

The expression, "holding of the King," as used of pre-Conquest times, requires some little investigation; but such investigation must be preceded by an inquiry into the services which Domesday Book shows were due from freemen and sokemen alike. Many of the Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire sokemen, who were at liberty to sell their land, and would therefore in Suffolk have been described as freemen, were liable for carrying and sentinel services when the King visited the shire. In the years when the King did not come into the shire, these services were commutable for a small money payment to the sheriff, and non-performance of these services involved forfeiture to the sheriff.[4] Brumann held 1 hide "de soca regis" at Fordham (Cambs.), with liberty of sale, and always found a carrying service for the King, or paid 8*d.* in lieu thereof, and his forfeitures were received

[1] D. B., I. 233 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 159 b 1. [3] *Id.*, 62 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 132 b 1.

by the sheriff.[1] Certain landowners in Kent furnished a guard for the King for six days in Canterbury or Sandwich, and were provided with food and drink by the King. Other lands which lay in Wye furnished him a guard for three days in those two towns.[2] At Hadam a sokeman holding "de soca regis" with liberty of sale, paid 2*d.* a year to the sheriff.[3] At Cirencester there was a free man holding two hides, who rendered twenty shillingsworth of provisions to the King ("20/- in firma"), and throughout the whole of England performed service for the sheriff.[4] At Luffenham and Sculthorp the sokemen and the bordars worked for the King as the reeve ordered them.[5] In the eastern counties fold-soke ("soca faldæ") is continually mentioned; at Halgetun (Norfolk) there were twelve men, of whom six were in fold-soke and the other six were free.[6] A man who owed fold-soke was obliged to fold his sheep on his lord's land, so that the lord reaped the benefit of their manure. The sokemen of St. Edmund's Abbey in Suffolk, who lived at Flemingston, owed service ("servitium") in Risby Lackford and Hemegretham;[7] and frequent mention is made of the service due to the saint from his sokemen. Professor Maitland has called attention to the fact that—

> "From a document which comes to us from the Abbey of Ely, and which is slightly older than the Domesday Inquest, we learn that certain of St. Etheldreda's sokemen in Suffolk had nothing to do but to plough and thresh whenever the abbot required it of them; others had to plough and reap and weed, and to carry the victuals of the monks to the minster, and to furnish horses whenever called upon to do so. This seems to point rather to 'boon-days' than to continuous week-work, and we also observe that the sokemen of the east, like the radmen of the west, had horses."[8]

The pre-Conquest sokemen at Hitchin rendered £40 a

[1] D. B., I. 189 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 1 a 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 133 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 162 b 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 219 a 2. [6] *Id.*, II. 203 b.
[7] *Id.*, II. 358. [8] *D. B. and B.*, 77.

year,[1] and fifty sokemen at Tingdene (Northants) rendered £8 0*s.* 10*d.* a year.[2] The land of three sokemen at Hatfield Broad Oak (Essex) produced 45*s.* a year,[3] and the land of twenty-two sokemen at Phobing produced £12 a year.[4] It is impossible to think that these payments represent merely their pecuniary fines for misconduct; the pleas of the whole hundred of Rochford were worth only 100*s.* a year; the soke that the Hitchin sokemen rendered must have included other and more valuable payments. And in the record of the profits accruing to the Bishop of Worcester in respect of his triple hundred of Oswaldslaw, were included "all the renders of the sokes and all the dues there pertaining to the Lord's victuals, and to the King's service and his own (*omnes redditiones socharum et omnes consuetudines inibi pertinentes ad dominicum victum et regis servitium et suum*)."[5] Evidently a portion of the renders of the sokes consisted in provisions for the lord of the sokelands. The pre-Conquest Earl of Nottingham had the third part of "all the dues and works (*consuetudines et opera*)" of the soke which lay to Clifton.[6]

We have seen reason to believe that there was a distinction between "sake and soke" and "soke;" and it is permissible to suggest that "soke" was the term applied to those services which were rendered by both freemen and sokemen alike to the King or their lords in respect of their lands. Hence we can understand how the soke of a hundred could be annexed to a manor; the soke of nineteen hundreds of Oxfordshire was annexed to seven of the royal manors in that shire; the provisions and services rendered by the sokemen within those hundreds were delivered and performed at the manor to which they were annexed.

If our interpretation of this term is correct, a sokeman is a man who renders services, and a sokeland is a land from

[1] D. B., I. 133 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 220 a 1. [3] *Id.*, II. 2 b.
[4] *Id.*, II. 26. [5] *Id.*, I. 172 b 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 280 b 1.

which services are rendered, and is not necessarily under the jurisdiction of a manor; and a grant of soke would confer on the grantee the right to the services of the men over whom it was granted. But a grant of sake and soke was more comprehensive: the grantee would receive their fines and forfeitures as well as their services. In 1053 Edward the Confessor granted to Ramsey Abbey the soke of Bichamdike, "and all the rights that any King can have," and at the same time conferred on the abbey the right of sake and soke over all its men.[1]

But this interpretation of the word "soke" is very heterodox. Hitherto no distinction has been drawn between the alliterative jingle "sake and soke" and the single term "soke," and a grant of soke has been interpreted to mean, if not a grant of jurisdiction, at all events a grant of the fines and forfeitures arising from the persons over whom it was granted; and, consequently, sokemen have been defined as persons under the jurisdiction of, or paying their forfeitures to, a manorial court. Consequently the passage in the charter of Henry I. to London (*c.* 1130), "And the churches and barons and citizens shall hold and have peaceably their sokes with all their customs, so that strangers who are entertained in their sokes shall pay their customs to no one but to him whose soke it is,"[2] has been interpreted as confirming to the churches, barons, and citizens their jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their sokes. But the charter speaks of the "customs" (*consuetudines*) of the sokes, in the same way as Domesday Book speaks of the "customs and works of the soke pertaining to Clifton," and of "the renders of the sokes" of Oswaldslaw, and may therefore be interpreted as being distinctly in favour of the interpretation of the term "soke" suggested in these pages. But the post-Conquest meaning of the term must be discussed later.

This definition of "soke" and "sokemen," however, does

[1] *Ramsey Chart.*, i. 218. [2] *Select Charters*, 108.

not exclude the traditional view that a sokeman was under the jurisdiction of the lord to whom he owed soke. We shall contend that a sokeman without liberty of commendation was the tenant of his lord, and therefore, if the lord had sake and soke over his own men, he would receive the fines and forfeitures from that man ; and if his charter forbad the intrusion of the sheriff, he would have a court of his own. But our point is that the sokeman became his lord's justiciable, because he first owed him his services, and that it was the grant of sake and soke over his tenants which brought the sokeman into the lord's jurisdiction.

Let us revert to the phrase, "holding of the King," and try to ascertain its meaning when used of pre-Conquest times. In post-Conquest times, it is always used of the magnates. They are always said to hold of the King. In the case of those who were recipients of the Conqueror's bounty, the expression indicates that they received their estates of him, and that they rendered their services to him ; and the same explanation will apply to those who received grants from the magnates, and were said to hold of them. And in the case of the ancient estates of the Church, many of which were in the possession of the bishops and abbeys for centuries before the Norman Conquest, the expression must mean that they received these estates from the bounty of his predecessors, and that whatever services were rendered in respect thereof were rendered to the King. In post-Conquest days, generally speaking, services fixed tenure, and the person to whom services were rendered in respect of a piece of land, was lord of that land. The Norman lawyers imported by the Conqueror conceived that all the land in the country belonged to the King, and proceeded from him to a subject, and that it owed its service to its superior lord, whether such superior was the King or a subject. They seem, too, to have tried to apply this rule to pre-Conquest times, and to have thought that in those days also, services fixed tenure, and

that the party to whom services were rendered in respect of a piece of land was the lord of that land. For instance, Domesday Book tells us, "T. R. E., Leofgar held Ditton of Harold, and served him, but could go where he would with his land."[1] Here, because Leofgar served Harold, he was said to hold of him, although, according to the Berwick rule, he ought to have held of the King, as he was at liberty to commend himself. "Seman holds a virgate of land in Copthorn hundred (Surrey), which he held of the King; but from the day King William came to England he served Oswald, rendering him 20*d.* per annum. He could go where he would T. R. E."[2] This is another case of a person who had liberty of commendation, and should therefore, according to the Berwick rule, have held of the King, rendering services to, and therefore being considered to hold of, another person. A similar example can be found at Hochinton (Cambs.), where a certain priest held 15 acres, with liberty of commendation, and therefore, according to the Berwick rule, should have held of the King; but his soke remained to the Abbot of Ely, and he was accordingly said to hold of the abbot.[3]

In our view, then, a man who held freely, or was at liberty to commend himself, T. R. E., was said to hold of the King, because his services were normally rendered to the King. And this view was confirmed by the passage in Heming's *Chartulary* quoted above, which goes on to say that a man who held freely "owed service to no one but the King."[4] Hence we understand why the Hertfordshire and Cambridgeshire sokemen, who had liberty of commendation, rendered carrying and sentinel services to the King, and why their forfeitures were received by the King or his representative, the sheriff. In Worcestershire, too, it was the King who received the forfeitures of a freeman who had sake and soke and liberty of commendation, if he failed to perform his

[1] D. B., I. 32 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 36 b 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 191 b 1.
[4] *V. C. H.*, *Worcester*, i. 267.

military service.[1] In some places "X, a freeman, held it," and "X held freely," appear to be interchangeable, and "freeholder" would therefore be the better translation of "liber homo," as by this translation we avoid any implied antithesis between freedom and slavery. The liberty on which our record lays stress was not personal liberty, but liberty of commendation.

The Ramsey Charter, previously quoted, shows that the King could grant to a third party the services arising from his freeholders. He was thus alleged to have granted to the Abbey of St. Edmund the soke of the freeman at Mulcefel, who had previously been "in soca regis."[2] He must have made many such grants in Cambridgeshire, for of many of the sokemen with liberty of commendation (*i.e.* freeholders) it is said that their soke remained to the Abbot of Ely, or to Edith the Fair, or to other persons. And where there were no grants, the magnates did not hesitate to "invade" the smaller freeholders: most of the "invasiones super Regem" in Essex were cases in which the magnates had wrongfully deprived the King of his rights over freemen—over those who were at liberty to sell their land.

The differences, therefore, between the freeholder and the sokeman in those counties where the two classes were distinguished were (1) that the former was at liberty to sell his land, or to commend himself to a lord of his choice, while the latter had no such liberty; (2) that the former normally rendered his services to the King, and the latter rendered his services to a private individual. Hence we understand the existence of five sokemen at Belchamp (Essex), of whom two were formerly freemen:[3] the services which these freeholders used to render to the King were now rendered to Ingelric, and they therefore became his sokemen.

When we remember the similarity of the services rendered by both freeholders and sokemen, we need not be surprised

[1] D. B., I. 172 a 1. [2] *Id.*, II, 360 b 2. [3] *Id.*, II. 28 b.

that the two classes were often confused, and that men would be called "sokemen" in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire, who would be called "liberi homines" in Essex or Suffolk, or *vice versâ* in Sussex. The nature of their services would distinguish them from the villans, but a further question must be asked to distinguish the two classes from one another. Could the man in question commend himself or no? If he could, he was a freeholder, a "liber homo;" if not, he was a "sokeman." For this reason the occasional passages in the Essex and Suffolk Domesdays, which mention freemen who could not sell, or sokemen who could recede, must be regarded as *lapsus calami*, which a careful revision would have corrected.

Before passing from the services rendered to the King by his freeholders, it will be well to turn to the statistics relating to the country between the Mersey and the Ribble.[1] Those who held of the King were called "thegns" in the hundreds of West Derby and Salford, "drengs" in Newton and Wallington, and "freemen" in Blackburn and Leyland. But, fortunately, the "drengs" of Newton are also called freemen; so that there would appear to be no essential difference between the King's tenants in the four hundreds of Newton, Wallington, Blackburn, and Leyland, and that they may be equated with the freeholders of other counties. The customs of the thegns of West Derby are set out at length. All of them paid 2 ounces of pennies (*i.e.* 2*s.* 8*d.*) for every carucate of land they held, and were accustomed to make the King's houses and their pertinences in the same way as the villans, and also fisheries and enclosures in the woods and deerhays. The defaulter forfeited 2*s.* Each of them sent his harvesters one day in August to cut the King's crops. The drengs of Newton had the same customs as the men of Derby, and in addition mowed for two days in August in the King's cultivated lands; and the freemen of Blackburn were subject to the same

[1] D. B., I. 269 b.

customs. But the thegns of Salford and the freemen of Leyland were not accustomed to work at the King's hall, nor to mow in August; all the work required of them was to make one enclosure in the King's wood. The customs of the drengs of Wallington are not recorded. Here, then, without referring to the thegns, we have undoubted freemen paying rent and performing special services (boon-works) for the King; and thus find corroborative evidence for our contention that the services of the freeholders were rendered to the King. But it should be noticed that there is no statement as to liberty of, or restraint on, commendation.

It is obvious that the grant by the King of his services from one of his freeholders could not derogate from the rights of that freeholder; hence a freeholder was still at liberty to commend himself to a lord of his choice, although he rendered services to a third party; and it is for this reason that we read of men who were commended to A, while their soke remained to B. Examples of this are very frequent.

"Barnby (Suffolk). Five freemen commended to Burchard, over whom the King and Earl had the soke." [1]

"Dersingham (Norfolk). The predecessor of Peter of Valonges had the commendation only of 22 freemen, but Stigand had the soke." [2]

"Gateley (Norfolk). The predecessor of Hugh of Montfort had the foldsoke and commendation of 2 sokemen, but the other soke lay in Muleham, a Royal manor." [3]

"Eversden (Cambs.). Edric, who could sell, had commended himself to the Abbot of Ely, but Earl Alfgar had the soke." [4]

"Over (Cambs.). The Abbot of Ramsey had the soke of a man who could sell and had commended himself to Earl Waltheof." [5]

"Bergholt. There were 210 sokemen T. R. E., but only 119 in 1086. Of these 119 Harold had the commendation of 4 only, and his brother Gurth of two. All the others were commended to other barons; but Harold had the soke of all." [6]

[1] D. B., II. 302. [2] *Id.*, 278 b. [3] *Id.*, II. 256 b.
[4] *Id.*, I. 199 a 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 202 b I. [6] *Id.*, II. 287 b.

"Thorley (Herts). Edzi, a man of (*i.e.* commended to) Goded, had liberty of commendation, and paid twopence a year to the Sheriff." [1]

"Sutreshele, Libury (Herts). Two men of Earl Leofwin, holding de soca regis, with liberty of commendation, found one carrying service for the King's Sheriff, or $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ a year." [2]

"Clothall (Herts). Three men of Archbishop Stigand, who could sell, rendered $11d.$ a year to the sheriff." [3]

The last three instances are cases of men with liberty of commendation, who had exercised that liberty and had commended themselves to local magnates; but such commendation did not interfere with their soke, with the right to their services, which were still received by the King.

What, then, was commendation? As far as can be ascertained, it was merely a personal bond between one man and another—the humbler man commended himself to a local magnate, and thereby received his protection. There are many cases in Domesday Book where this reason for commendation is expressly stated.

"At Esher (Surrey) one man and two women, who could turn themselves where they would, submitted themselves with their land to the Abbey of Chertsey for their defence." [4]

The man who had thus commended himself to another was known as the man of that other, and parallel passages in the Cambridgeshire Inquest and the Exchequer Domesday show that he was also sometimes said to be under (*sub*) that other. Professor Maitland quotes the Anglo-Saxon oath of fealty—

"The swearer puts his hands between the hands of his lord, and promises to be faithful and true to his lord, to love all that his lord loves, and eschew all that his lord eschews . . . on condition that his lord treats him according to his deserts, and according to the covenant that has been established between them." [5]

[1] D. B., I. 134 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 134 a 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 134 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 32 b 1. [5] *D. B. and B.*, 69.

The man who had become the man of another, had the assistance of his lord both for protection against thieves and in the law-courts; and when we remember how the value of the oath of a man varied according to his social position, we can see that the advantage of this patronage was very considerable to a poor man. A further point to be borne in mind is that when a man commended himself to another, he entered into the "mund" of this other, and that, in addition to the fine paid to the man for an offence committed against him, the offender would pay to the lord an additional fine for breaking his mund—a fine which varied according to the social position of the lord, being highest when the lord was the archbishop.[1]

It would seem—but the point is not quite clear—that one result of commendation was that the commendor obtained a warrantor of his title to his lands. Odo, a man of (*i.e.* commended to) Swegen, received 10 acres which, according to the testimony of the hundred, belonged to the Church of St. Mary, Barking, but he called on his lord as *tutor*, *i.e.* to warrant his title.[2] On the other hand, the lord gained the advantage of another follower to swell his retinue and fight his battles; but it is doubtful whether he gained any further advantage. Frequently we read, "In this land X had nothing but commendation."[3] And references to mere commendation are frequent: "X was only the man of Y, *tantummodo homo Wisgari*."[4] That commendation did not necessarily confer any right on the lord is shown by the record relating to Hanningfield (Essex), where the Abbot of Ely claimed the land which two men held T. R. E.; but the hundred bore witness that they held their land freely, and were only commended to the abbot.[5] At Gorleston there was a dispute turning on this point. The hundred bore witness that in certain men the predecessor of Hermer had nothing but commendation, but one of Hermer's men said that the predecessor had, T. R. E., all dues from them;

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 70. [2] D. B., II. 10 b. [3] *Id.*, II. 102 b.
[4] D. B., II. 40. [5] *Id.*, II. 25.

and bail was given so that the dispute could be settled later.[1] In some cases it would seem that the lord had a heriot at the death of his man ; 907 burgesses of Thetford had liberty of commendation, but all their dues remained to the King except heriot ;[2] obviously their lord would receive their heriot, but their soke belonged to the King. On the other hand, from the sokeman of Stamford, who had liberty of commendation, the King received both forfeitures and heriot.[3] So that the point cannot be regarded as settled. There are two cases in which it is stated that men could sell their land on paying two shillings to the lord to whom they had commended themselves ;[4] but it would be unsafe to deduce a general rule from these two examples.

There was, however, a species of commendation in which, as at Esher, the commendor surrendered his land to his lord ; but that it was possible for a man to retain his land in spite of commendation is clear from an Essex record, "Serlo made himself the man of the predecessor of Ralph Piperell, but did not give his land."[5]

When a commendor thus surrendered his land, he was said to send it into the manor or the Church, to the lord or abbot of which he commended himself, and on its regrant to him the terms of the tenure were often altered: "Edmund the priest, who was commended to St. Etheldreda, held Brantestun T. R. E., and the land which he received with his wife he sent into the Church, with an agreement (*tali conventione*) that he could not sell or give it away from the Church."[6]

The Suffolk Domesday shows that there could be partial commendation and sub-commendation.

"Middleton was held by Munulf T. R. E. Half his commendation belonged to the predecessor of Earl Hugh, and half to the predecessor of Robert Malet. In the same vill were six freemen. Brunwin was

[1] D. B., II. 208.
[2] *Id.*, II. 119.
[3] *Id.*, I. 336 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 207, 278 b.
[5] *Id.*, II. 71 b.
[6] *Id.*, II. 431 b.

the whole man of Munulf T. R. E.; Alfac half; and Leofric half. Esmoda was wholly commended to Toli the sheriff, and Brihtmar, her son, was the man of Brihtmar, the reeve of Robert Malet, with the sixth part of the land. Kenric and Grim were the men of Edric, and held 50 acres. The soke belonged to the King and the earl." [1]

"Alfric was commended as to one sixth part to the predecessor of Malet, and Aelic, the predecessor of Robert Blund, had five parts of his commendation." [2]

In the first of these cases it is obvious that Munulf stood in the same relation to Brunwin and the others as the predecessors of Earl Hugh and Robert Malet stood to him; but it is not easy to see how a man could commend himself to two lords: "No man can serve two masters." Possibly, however, he was commended to a man whose rights over him descended to two co-heiresses. At Cokeley (Suffolk) Godric was commended as to one-third to Wulfsige, and as to the other two-thirds to Wulfsige's two brothers.[3]

A man and his wife might be commended to different persons: Blakeman, a freeman, held 50 acres at Sibton (Suffolk), and was the man of Edric, but his wife was the man (!) of Archbishop Stigand.[4]

The bond of commendation seems to have endured for the life of the man, and not to have bound his children. We have seen that a mother and her son could be commended to different persons. The father of a man named Tori commended himself to Herman, Bishop of Salisbury, in respect of a hide and a half in the hundred of Wantage. Likewise Tori commended himself to Bishop Osmund, the successor of Herman.[5] These two cases show that the commendation of the parents did not bind the children. In Cambridgeshire we read of men who in 1066 were commended to Earl Alfgar, who died in 1062;[6] and these cases show that the bond of commendation did not cease with the death of the lord; and the cases of

[1] D. B., II. 299 b. [2] *Id.*, II. 309. [3] *Id.*, II. 333 b.
[4] *Id.*, II. 313. [5] *Id.*, I. 58 a 2. [6] *Id.*, I. 194 a 2.

partial commendation would point to the same conclusion, if we are right in considering these as cases of the descent of the lord's right to co-heirs. Possibly the benefit of commendation was alienable by the lord. There was one man who was common to the Abbots of Ely and St. Edmund's;[1] but here again it may have been that each abbot derived his rights from one of two co-heirs.

It was necessary to make this inquiry into the nature of commendation in order to elucidate the real nature of the Domesday freeholders; they were at liberty to sell their lands without the permission of any lord, and to enter into a voluntary bond, known as commendation, by which they became the retainers of a magnate in return for his protection. But this bond did not necessarily confer on their lord any rights over their land. What services they rendered in respect of their lands they rendered to the King or to a grantee of the King.

The word "commend" is occasionally used in another sense. Hitherto we have referred to its use to express the voluntary subjection of an inferior to a superior. Occasionally it is used to express a grant from a superior to an inferior. Two brothers held land at Cromhall, but Earl William commended them to the Reeve of Berkeley, that he might have their service.[2] In the hundred of Wilge (Beds.) King William commended a certain sokeman with half a hide to Osiet, his prefect, "that so long as he lived he might provide him with food and clothing."[3] The Abbot of Evesham commended the two vills of Stoke and Hidcote to two of his knights.[4] In the first two examples the commendation was evidently a grant of services—what, in pre-Conquest times, would have been called a grant of "soke"—and the third example is somewhat similar in meaning.

As opposed to the freeholder, the sokeman properly so

[1] D. B., II., 125 b.
[2] *Id.*, I. 163 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 218 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 166 a 1.

called was not at liberty to sell his lands, nor to commend himself to any person other than him to whom he owed soke. I can find no example in Cambridgeshire of a man who was said to be the man of another and was restrained from sale, owing soke to any person other than him whose man he was. On nine manors of the Abbot of Ely in Cambridgeshire, there were fifty-nine sokemen restrained from sale and commendation; but these estates were the ancient possessions of the abbey, and it is distinctly stated that the sokeman at Cottenham of the Abbot of Ely could not sell his land, because it was the demesne of the Church.[1] Similarly, the tenants on the ancient possessions of the Abbeys of Worcester, Abingdon, and Glastonbury were all restrained from commendation.

One noteworthy variation of the phrase expressing restraint on commendation is found in the Exeter Domesday, where it is stated that certain land at Cerne "could not be separated from the service" of Milton Abbey;"[2] and occasionally in Domesday Book the statement that certain land could not be separated from the Church is followed by another statement that "thence the tenant served the Church (*inde serviebat ecclesiam*)."[3] A further example of the connection of service with the restraint on commendation is to be found at Ower (Hants), where Elsi held certain land of the Abbot of Glastonbury, and could not go where he pleased, but always rendered gafol to the abbot.[4]

Such land, which the tenants could not sell without licence, is shown by Mr. Round, from the Ely Inquest, to have been called thegnland;[5] and at Christian Malford reference is made in Domesday Book to the thegnland, which could not be separated from the Church.[6] Hence we understand why it was recorded that at Coleburne the abbot had 1 hide of thegnland in his demesne.[7] Many of these thegnlands

[1] D. B., I. 201 b 1.
[2] Exon. D., 41.
[3] D. B., I. 72 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 43 b 1.
[5] *F. E.*, 28–35.
[6] D. B., I. 66 b 1.
[7] D. B., I. 67 a 2.

were leased by the monasteries for three lives—the lives of the grantee and two generations following. The lands occupied by those sokemen who had liberty of commendation, who would be called "freeholders" in Suffolk, were called "sokelands" in the Ely Inquest; and the evidence quoted from the Ely plea shows that there was little, if any, difference between the services rendered from the sokelands and those from the thegnlands.[1] The distinction would appear, in modern phraseology, to be that the abbey owned the freehold of the thegnlands, but had only a *profit á prendre* (or a servitude) over the sokelands.

We have seen that many of the sokemen who were restrained from sale or commendation were tenants on the ancient estates of the monasteries; may we therefore deduce that their lands were granted to them by the monasteries, on condition of their rendering some service or other in respect thereof, and that one of the conditions of their tenure was that they should not sell their lands or attach themselves to the retinue of any lord without the licence of their grantors? There are several cases of gifts by abbots to thegns, "who yet could not be separated from the Church."[2] We have already seen a case of an estate surrendered to a church, and regranted to the donor on condition that he did not sell it—another proof that restraint from sale was one of the conditions on which the churches granted their lands. But to this rule there might be an exception by agreement. "Tostig leased an estate from the Church of Malmesbury for three lives, and during this term could go with it to what lord he would;"[3] but the other tenants of Malmesbury Abbey were subject to the usual restraint from commendation.

There is one instance in which men restrained from commendation transgressed the rule, and commended themselves to another; the sons of Eliert held Linford of the Abbot of Abingdon, nor could they go elsewhere without his licence;

[1] *F. E.*, 28–35. [2] D. B., I. 67 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 72 a 1.

and yet they commended themselves to Walter Gifard without the abbot's precept.[1] The practical outcome of this transaction seems to have been that Walter Gifard became the abbot's tenant, and the former tenants became his subtenants. With this should be compared the record of the purchase of Stoke (Kent) by Earl Godwin from two tenants of the Bishop of Rochester, in ignorance that they were his tenants; but after the Conquest, Archbishop Lanfranc recovered the land from the Bishop of Bayeux, who had succeeded Godwin.[2]

The services rendered by the sokemen were various, and were sometimes heavier than those rendered to the King by his freeholders. In addition to the service rendered to the King in respect of 1 hide at Bisley, which service had been granted to the Bishop of Worcester, Brictric also supplied provisions to the bishop every year.[3] For certain land which Godric leased of the Abbey of Pershore for three lives, he gave to the monks one farm, or a certain quantity of provisions every year.[4] The statistics relating to the triple hundred of Oswaldslaw are preceded by a statement that the lands were the demesne of the Church of Worcester, and were let to tenants who were bound to surrender them at the end of their terms, and could not turn themselves where they would with their land;[5] and with a monotonous regularity we read that the pre-Conquest tenants served the bishop "according to his will or request (*sicut voluerit*, or *sicut deprecari poterat*);" some of them were stated to serve as radmans. The Gloucestershire *radechenistre*, or riding knight, is explained as being a freeman who "nevertheless, according to the need of his lord, ploughed and harrowed and reaped and mowed;"[6] and the careful reader will at once notice that these were services that would be rendered only at specially busy times. Domesday Book records two radmans

[1] D. B., I. 59 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 5 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 173 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 175 a 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 172 b 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 166 a 2.

at Hallow;[1] and the Worcester Register of 1212 speaks of two freemen there who "equitant in turnum suum."[2] The radmans of Westminster Abbey in Worcestershire mowed for one day in the year, and did all service that was required of them;[3] and of two radknights in Hampshire it was stated that they could not go where they pleased.[4]

Turning now to the three other classes of humbler folk—the villans, the bordars, and the slaves—we cannot find in Domesday Book much information about their services. On the large manor of Leominster there were, T. R. E., 238 villans who ploughed 140 acres of land, sowed them with wheat of their own providing, and paid £11 4*s.* 4*d.* as custom; but in 1086 their number was reduced to 223, who ploughed and sowed only 125 acres, and made payments amounting to £12 4*s.* 8½*d.*[5] At Marcle, in 1086, there were thirty-six villans who ploughed 151 acres, and sowed with their own seed 80 acres of wheat and 71 acres of oats.[6] At the latter date the villans and bordars of Bricklehampton and Defford and the coliberti of Eckington rendered similar services.[7] But it will be noticed that while the radmans merely ploughed, the villans also provided seed for the land they ploughed.

If little is known about the services of the villans, still less is known of the services of the cottagers. The only statement on this point is that at Ewiss twelve bordars[8] worked one day a week on their lord's demesne.[9]

Of the condition of the pre-Conquest slaves, Domesday Book says nothing.

Summing up, then, we find that the characteristics of the five classes of humbler folk in 1066 may be deduced from the Domesday evidence alone as follows:—

[1] D. B., I. 173 b 2. [2] Worcester Register, 50 a. [3] D. B., I. 174 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 38 a 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 180 a 1.
[6] *Id.*, I. 179 b 1. [7] *Id.*, I. 174 b 1.
[8] *Bord* is Norman-French for "cottage," and the "bordars" were therefore cottagers.
[9] D. B., I. 185 a 2.

1. The "freeholders," with liberty of sale and commendation, rendering occasional services to the King.

2. The "sokemen," restrained from sale and commendation, tenants of, and rendering occasional services to a subject.

3. The "villans" } all of whom were so intimately
4. The "cottagers" } connected with the demesne that
5. The "slaves" } it could not exist without them.

In addition, it must be remembered that in several places the villans sowed a portion of their lord's land with their own seed, and that there is one passage stating that certain cottagers worked one day a week.

If the characteristics of these five classes be compared with the characteristics of the five classes whose existence was deduced from the pre-Domesday documents, we find—

1. That the services of the freeholders agree with those of the King's gafolgelders.

2. That the services of the sokemen agree with those of the geneat.

3. That the only specified service of the villans agrees with one of the specified services of the geburs.

4. That the services of the cottager in the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum agree with the services of the Domesday cottager.

In three out of four cases the resemblance is complete, and we may therefore identify the "freeholder" (*liber homo*) with the King's gafolgelder, and the "sokeman" with the geneat. The cottager's services are the same in both documents, and we are therefore compelled by the process of exhaustion to identify the "villan" with the gebur, and to argue that although Domesday is silent on this point, he worked two or three days a week on his lord's demesne. But a warning must here be given. This identification of the freeholders and sokemen holds good only in the eastern counties, where the Commissioners drew a distinction between the freeholder and the sokeman. We have already noticed that in other

counties both classes are included under one name—sometimes they are called "freemen;" at other times both classes are styled "sokemen." The essential difference must always be borne in mind: had the man liberty of commendation? If so, he was a freeholder, a gafolgelder; if not, he was a sokeman, a geneat.

Professor Maitland draws a distinction between the freemen and the sokemen on the one hand, and the villans on the other, by suggesting that their lord was primarily liable for the geld of the latter class, but liable as a surety only for the geld of the freemen and the sokemen;[1] but the Geld Inquests for 1084 represent the collectors as unable to collect all the geld, because the villans of certain places did not pay their geld.[2] If their lord was primarily liable, it would make no difference to the collectors whether they retained it or no. He would therefore explain the record of "a freeman who now has become one of the villans" at Benfleet,[3] by suggesting that the primary liability for the geld had been shifted from the man to his lord. But how would he explain the record at Bloxham,[4] concerning a thegn who served as a freeman? In his view both were primarily liable for geld, and, if so, there is no reason for the change of name being recorded. Our explanation, that the difference lay in the economic condition, not in the liability for geld, will suit both cases. At Benfleet we see a gafolgelder degraded into a gebur—a degradation against which Ine legislated in the eighth century; and at Bloxham we have a man who had been accustomed to render military service becoming a gafolgelder, and commuting his military services for a money payment or a payment in kind. Converse commutations can be found: At Stratton, Wilts., land that was formerly thegnland, in 1086 rendered 60*s.* into the King's farm;[5] evidently the tenant had commuted the agricultural services

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 127. [2] *e.g.* D. B., IV. 9.
[3] D. B., II. 1 b. [4] *Id.*, I. 154 b 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 86 b 2.

due from his thegnland for the supply of sixty shillingsworth of provisions to the King. Again, at South Perrot (Dorset), land that, T. R. E., was thegnland, in 1086 rendered 60*s.* in the King's farm.[1]

Professor Vinogradoff[2] points out that the Latin version of the Old English Laws employs *villanus* to include both the geneat and the gebur. And it is possible to adopt this equation in those counties where no freemen or sokemen are recorded; nevertheless, it is permissible to urge that, where the Commissioners saw a difference between the sokeman and the villan, it lay along the lines here suggested. He also considers that the distinction between the villan and the sokeman on the one hand and the freeman on the other, lay in their wergilds: the wergild of the former classes was 200*s.*, that of the latter class, 1200*s.* To the objection that many of the *liberi homines* held very small areas of land, he replies by quoting the treaty between Alfred and Guthrun, providing that all the Danish warriors should be considered as 'and have the wergilds of' thegns, *i.e.* 1200*s.* And he thinks that many of these small *liberi homines* were the descendants of Danish warriors, and that in the eastern counties the Commissioners included the rent-paying tenants in this class.[3] But as he admits that the difference between the villan and the sokeman did not lie in their wergild, it is not easy to see why the Commissioners should adopt a new criterion to distinguish between the sokeman and the *liber homo.*

We can now, therefore, complete our definition of a pre-Domesday manor. We have seen (1) that a manor is differentiated from a sokeland by the possession of demesne; (2) that where there is demesne there are also villans, bordars, and slaves, or one or another of these classes; (3) that the villans represent the geburs, who were tenants of land on condition that they worked two or three days a week for their lord; (4) that the bordars or cottagers worked one day

[1] D. B., I. 88 a 2. [2] *G. M.*, 340. [3] *Id.*, 342.

a week for their lord. A manor, therefore, may be defined as the estate of a single lord, possessing a demesne farm which is worked by the tenurial labour of some of its inhabitants, using the term "tenurial labour" to signify that week-work which must be provided by the tenants as part of the consideration for which they hold their lands. One objection to this definition is the existence of a Suffolk manor on which the only apparent tenants were freemen.

"In Thistledon Ulmar, a freeman commended to St. Etheldreda holds 60 acres, for a manor, and 5 freemen under him (*sub se*)." [1]

But the Cambridgeshire Inquest often uses the expression "under him" in places where the Exchequer Domesday says "commended to him;" and so we may conclude that the five freemen were commended to Ulmar, and were not his tenants.

This definition will account for a manor being held of a manor. Thus "of the manor of Whitchurch (belonging to the Bishop of Winchester) Ralph fitz Sefride holds a manor which is called Freefolk," [2] in which he succeeded Ednod, who was restrained from commendation. He had succeeded to a sokeman—a geneat—of the manor of Whitchurch, who furnished provisions and special services to the manor, but was himself the owner of an estate which was cultivated by the villans, bordars, and slaves who were his tenants.

We can therefore understand what is implied by the existence of several manors in a vill: we have seen that at Horndon in Essex there were five manors, of which the state in 1066 can be thus tabulated—

	Hides.	Acres.	Villans.	Bordars.	Slaves.
Godwin, a freeman	1½	—	—	4	1
Uluric, a freeman	2	50	2	12	2
Aluric the priest, a freeman ...	2	30	—	11	3
Winge	1½	—	—	3	
Two freemen	2½	15	1	14	3

[1] D. B., II. 386.

[2] *Id.*, I. 41 a 1.

If we may assume that at Horndon a hide represented 120 acres, Godwin would have 180 acre-strips scattered throughout the fields of Horndon; some of these he retained in his own possession as a demesne farm, but he let some to four bordars, who, by the terms of their tenure, were obliged to work on his farm, and by whose aid, with the aid of the slave whom he maintained, and possibly with the aid of his own family, his demesne was cultivated. Similarly, Uluric would have 290 acre-strips intermixed with those of Godwin; some of which he retained as his demesne, while the remainder was let to his villans and bordars, who cultivated his demesne for him; but Godwin's bordars would not work on Uluric's demesne, nor *vice versâ*. Five out of these six lords were called freemen: according to our interpretation of this term they were the King's gafolgelders, and were bound to furnish him with provisions and to render certain works to him.

Other records may be interpreted in a similar way: The Abbot of St. Edmund's had an estate at Risby, to which reference has already been made. In 1066 seven teams were employed on the estate; the abbot had demesne land employing two teams, and had let to four villans and two bordars as much land as would furnish one team, and these, with the three slaves belonging to him, cultivated his demesne; the demesne and the land of the villans and bordars were together assessed at 2 carucates. But intermixed with these lands were the lands of seven sokemen, who together employed three teams; over these sokemen the Saint had sake and soke and commendation, but they could not sell their lands: to our mind they were geneats, to whom the abbot had let a portion of the lands in the vill, on condition of their furnishing him with provisions and of working on his demesne at specially busy times, seedtime and harvest especially. Further, in 1066 there was living at Risby a freeman who could sell his land, which employed

one team; he had sublet some of his land to four bordars who worked for him. He was a gafolgelder, and was originally bound to furnish provisions and special services to the King; but the King had granted these dues, and also sake and soke—jurisdiction—over him to the abbot; and during the reign of the Conqueror this freeman surrendered his land to the abbot, who let it to a man by the name of Norman. But again we must remind ourselves that neither freemen nor sokemen were essential to the existence of a manor.

As Professor Maitland has pointed out, Cambridgeshire, in 1066, contained a number of free villages. He has printed an abstract of the pre-Conquest inhabitants of the hundred of Wetherley, showing how that hundred was divided into minute holdings which were occupied by men who had commended themselves to one magnate or another. Of all the vills in this hundred, Orwell was the most subdivided. The vill was assessed at 4 hides, and had land for five and a quarter teams, and in 1066 was divided as follows:[1]—

	H.	V.	A.	Teams.	Oxen.
Two sokemen, men of Edith the Fair ...		$\frac{2}{3}$			
A sokeman, man of Archbishop Stigand ...		$1\frac{1}{3}$			
A sokeman, man of Robert fitz Wimarc ...		$1\frac{1}{3}$		1	4
A sokeman, man of the King		$\frac{2}{3}$			
A sokeman, man of Earl Alfgar		$1\frac{1}{3}$			
A sokeman, man of Earl Waltheof ...		3		1	—
A sokeman, man of the King		$\frac{1}{3}$			
Sigar, a man of Ansgar the Staller ...		$1\frac{1}{3}$			4
Turbert, a man of Edith the Fair		$3\frac{1}{4}$	5	1	4
Achil, a man of Earl Harold		1			2
A sokeman of the King		1			3
St. Mary of Chatteris		$\frac{1}{3}$			1
St. Mary of Chatteris		$\frac{1}{4}$			$\frac{1}{2}$
	5	0	0	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$

All these were at liberty to sell or give their lands, and

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 133.

had therefore liberty of commendation. Because they had this liberty of commendation, they held freely of the King, and we find that four of them provided one carrying service and three sentinels for the King when he came into the shire. But what is specially noticeable, here is a village of thirteen or fourteen families, with no common superior but the King, carrying on the complicated processes of the open-field system. These processes implied rules for the division of the meadow, for the fixing of the times of hay and corn harvests, for the restriction of the number of cattle and sheep to be turned by each into the pasture, and the fallow. There was no external authority who could have imposed these rules upon the villagers. They must, therefore, have adopted them after consultation with one another. Doubtless after the rules had once been adopted, they would work automatically; but it is hard to see how they could be evolved without definite deliberation. And Orwell is not a solitary example. Numbers of free villages can be found, not only in Cambridgeshire, but in other counties. Mr. Round has selected some similar cases in Hertfordshire. Wickham, a vill of 4 hides 1 virgate 21 acres, was divided between thirteen sokemen. The Pelhams, assessed at 12¼ hides, were divided as follows:—

	H.	V.	
Two brothers, men of Ansgar the Staller ...	1	1	
Alfred, man of Ansgar the Staller	1		M [1]
A thegn, man of Anschil of Ware A thegn, man of Godwin of Bendfield ...	2½		M
Two brothers {a man of Ansgar the Staller {a man of the Abbot of Ely	1	1	
A thegn, man of Anschil of Ware ... A thegn, man of Aethelmaer of Bennington	2	3	M
Five King's sokemen		2	
Aelfwine, a man of Godwine of Bendfield ...	1		
Wulfwi, a man of Godwine of Bendfield ...	2		M
	12	1	

[1] The marginal M shows that these properties were called "manors."

All these had power to sell, and would therefore have been called "freeholders" in Suffolk.[1]

Other terms were used to denote the pre-Domesday tenures of land. In the South Eastern Counties we meet with those who are called "allodarii," or are said to hold "in allodium," either of the King or of local magnates. In very many cases the record further states that they could go where they would, and I have seen only one instance where they were restrained from commendation.[2] It must be noticed that in Sussex "allodarii" and "liberi homines" are found side by side in only two hundreds. In sixteen hundreds only "allodarii" are recorded, and in fourteen hundreds only "freemen" are recorded. This fact suggests that different scribes made the returns for different hundreds, and that where some saw "freemen" others saw "allodarii," and if so, "allodarii" and "liberi homines" can be equated. These allodarii are especially numerous in Hampshire. On folio 46, out of forty-six holdings enumerated, seventeen were allodial holdings in 1066; and, similarly, on folio 50, out of twenty-three estates, twenty were allodia. Occasionally we read of estates that were not alods.[3] Blacheman held two estates in Berks: he held Chilton of Earl Harold in allodium, and could go where he pleased; and he held Leverton in fee.[4] A distinction therefore appears to be drawn between lands that were held in allodium and lands that were held in fee.

The word "fee" is frequently used by the Domesday scribes. Often it is used to express the whole of the landed estates of a magnate; *e.g.* the fee of Baignard,[5] the fee of Lisios,[6] the fee of Count Eustace,[7] the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux.[8] "Hamo says that he has this land in his own fee."[9] And a distinction is drawn between the lands of the

[1] *V. C. H., Herts*, i. 288.
[2] D. B., I. 52 b 1.
[3] D. B., I. 39 b 2; I. 44 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 59 a 2.
[5] *Id.*, II. 55 b.
[6] *Id.*, I. 212 b 1.
[7] *Id.*, II. 303.
[8] *Id.*, I. 16 a 2.
[9] *Id.*, II. 56.

Bishop of Thetford pertaining to the see, and the lands of the fee of the same (bishop).[1] But the word is also used in another sense: "The woman who held this land (Combe, Surrey) sent herself with it into the hands of the Queen, and Humphrey holds it of the Queen in fee."[2] Similarly, William the Chamberlain held Eia of the Queen in fee at £3 a year.[3] So that "fee" would appear to imply the gift of a superior to an inferior.

Hence the distinction between the lands Blacheman held in allodium and in fee implies that the latter were derived from the gift of some person, while the alod was not so derived, and would therefore represent the estate of the original settler. But we have seen that the freeholders—the "liberi homines" with liberty of commendation—were the descendants of the original settlers who remained on their ancestral estates; so that, as the Sussex Domesday suggests, "allodarius" and "liber homo" are different names for the same person. The record that "when an allodiary of Kent died, the King had a relief from his land,"[4] confirms our contention that the allodiary had no superior but, and rendered his services to, the King.

Another mode of pre-Domesday tenure was tenure "in parage," a tenure which is thus described by the Customs of Normandy: "Tenure by parage is when he who holds and he of whom he holds ought, by reason of their tenure, to be peers, by reason of their sharing in the heritage which descends to them from their ancestor; . . . the elders perform the homage to the chief lords, and the juniors hold of them by parage without homage."[5] The case of Siwate and his brothers (p. 102) is a good example of such a holding. The four brothers were sharers in the heritage, but Siwate performed the duties of the holding, and the juniors held of him

[1] D. B., II. 191 and 193.
[2] *Id.*, I. 36 b 1.
[3] *Id.*, 129 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 1 a 2.
[5] Flach, *Origines de l'Ancienne France*, i. 253 n.

in parage. Another good example is found at Lavendon,[1] where eight thegns held the manor, and one of them "Alli, a man of King Edward, was the elder. All could sell their land." The Dorset Domesday contains a list, some two and a half columns long, of thegns holding in parage in 1066, and at the end of this list is a note: "All the thegns who held these lands T. R. E. could go to what lord they would."[2] Often we find only one man recorded as holding in parage. Professor Maitland suggests that he was regarded as the senior—the man, like Alli, who was responsible for the duties of the holding.[3] But in other cases, where the number of joint-owners was stated in the returns of the hundreds, the numbers were inserted in the Exchequer Domesday.

The pre-Conquest landowners enumerated in the separate description of the Isle of Wight, whose tenures are recorded, are equally divided between tenants in parage and allodarii. Thirty-nine persons held thirty properties, assessed at 32½ hides, in parage; and forty-six persons held thirty-one estates, assessed at 32½ hides, in allodium; and there were also four allodarii who held ½ hide in parage. But it must be noticed that in four columns[4] there are none but tenants in parage, except the first entry in column 53 b 1, while in two columns there are none but allodarii. Mr. Round further points out that "it can hardly be a coincidence that among the English thegns in Hampshire[5] there are twenty-seven cases of their predecessors holding in allodium, and not one of a holding in parage, till we come to the Forest hundred of Rodbridge, in which, with the Forest section which follows it,[6] there are thirty-three holdings in parage, and not one in allodium."[7] Again, it would appear that different scribes gave different names to the same tenure, and we may therefore accept Mr. Nichol's suggestion,[8] and consider tenure in parage as a species of allodiary tenure.

[1] D. B., I. 145 b 1. [2] *Id.*, 84 a 1. [3] *D. B. and B.*, 145.
[4] D. B., 52 a 2, and b 1 and 2, 53 b 1. [5] Fols. 50 to 50 b.
[6] Fols. 50 b to 51 b. [7] *V. C. H.*, *Hants*, I. 441. [8] *Ib.*

The fact that some of the allodiaries are stated to hold of a subject need cause us no difficulty; for we have already seen that by this expression the Domesday scribes implied that the services due in respect of a holding were rendered to a subject to whom they had been granted by the King. It does not appear impossible that the Norman scribes applied the term "allodium" to property that was held by unwritten title, or by folk-right.[1]

It was necessary to enter into these complicated legal questions concerning tenure, to enable us to approach a question of more practical interest: Was the bulk of the population in 1066 free or servile? We have identified the Domesday villans, bordars, and sokemen with the geburs, cottagers, and geneats of the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum; but the latter document expressly states that these three classes were free, and paid their hearthpenny on Holy Thursday, "as every freeman should do;" and I have not been able to find in Domesday Book any evidence that they had lost their status of freemen or their wergild of 200*s*. The statistics of population given by Sir Henry Ellis relate to the year 1086, and so are no help to us. And it is only in the three eastern counties that the numbers of the tenants in 1066 are given. Possibly some of them are guess-work, but we must take them for what they are worth. A count of the pre-Conquest inhabitants of the estates of the Abbey of St. Edmund's in the hundreds of Thinghoe, Lackford, and Babenberg in Suffolk, may be tabulated as follows:—

	Under the Abbot.	Under the sokemen and freeholders.	Total.	Percentages.
Villans	154	14	168	23·3
Bordars	141	128	269	37·4
Slaves	77	15	92	12·75
Sokemen	70	—	70	9·8
Freeholders	121	—	121	16·75
	563	157	720	

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 154 n, 257.

So that the slaves were only $12\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. of the recorded population, and the freeholders were $16\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

Apparently the freeholders formed no inconsiderable proportion of the recorded population of Suffolk. Sir Henry Ellis has counted 7460 freemen, and Mr. Seebohm's map shows that they formed 35 per cent. of the population. But it has been suggested that some of them may have been enumerated twice or thrice, and a count of the freemen in the hundred of Colness shows that this is so. In that hundred I have counted 122 named freemen who are recorded 315 times, and sixty-three whose names are not given. Some of the named freemen are entered three or four times: Mansun, a man of Norman, held lands at Norton,[1] Saltenham,[2] and Walton;[3] and Blakeman, another man of Norman, held lands at Grimston,[4] Kenebrook,[5] Walton,[6] Oxland,[7] and Leofstanstun.[8] Possibly this estimate of 122 named freeholders is too lavish. Seven Godrics are recorded: four were commended to Norman, of whom three are distinguished as the other (*alter*) Godric, Godric Long, and Godric the Smith. The other three were commended to Godeman, Wihtmar, and the Abbot of Ely respectively. If in the other hundreds duplicate entries occur in the same proportion as in the hundred of Colness, Ellis's estimate of 7460 freemen in Suffolk can be reduced to a little under 3000. But it is to be hoped that some student of the Suffolk Domesday will subject Ellis's figures to a careful analysis: as figures based on proportion sums may be very misleading.

Let us turn to figures which are more trustworthy. There were many sokemen in Cambridgeshire in 1066, and they may be tabulated as follows:—

682 with liberty of commendation, holding $301\frac{1}{2}$ hides.
246 without liberty of commendation, holding 92 hides.
122 unspecified, holding $34\frac{1}{2}$ hides.

[1] D. B., II. 340. [2] *Id.*, 340 b. [3] *Id.*, 339 b.
[4] *Id.*, 341 b. [5] *Id.*, 342. [6] *Id.*, 339 b.
[7] *Id.*, 343. [8] *Id.*, 342.

But the assessment of the holdings of some of these sokemen is not recorded, and we may therefore conclude that the pre-Conquest freeholders of Cambridgeshire held one quarter of the 1233 hides at which that county was assessed.

A similar account for Sussex shows the following figures:—

114 liberi homines, holding 219 hides.
46 men with liberty of commendation, holding 131 hides.
105 allodiaries, holding 160¾ hides.

But Sussex was assessed at 3474 hides in 1066: so that those who may be classed as freeholders held less than 15 per cent. of the county.

Similar counts for separate hundreds in some of the other counties show that the number of freeholders formed a large proportion of the inhabitants of England in 1066. And it should be stated that these hundreds are not selected for the purpose.

County.	Hundred.	No.	Description.	Holdings.	Total hides in hundred.
Hants ...	Portsdown	15	Liberi homines and Allodarii	32¼ hides	51¼
	Neatham	17	Allodarii	53¾ ,,	108
	Basingstoke	9	Liberty of commendation	43½ ,,	56 (& 52 car.)
Berks. ...	Kintbury	17	Allodarii	67 ,,	104½
	Reading	19	Allodarii and liberty of commendation	41 ,,	168¼
Herts ...	Hertford	38	Could sell	41 ,,	160
	Broadwater	39	,,	56 ,,	309
Bucks. ...	Aylesbury	6	,,	34¼ ,,	94¼
	Staines	22	,,	76 ,,	167
Hereford ...	Heletone	6	Liberty of commendation	12½ ,,	90¾
Bedford ...	Biggleswade	90	Sokemen with liberty of commendation	80 ,,	102
Northants ...	Corby	6	Holding freely	5½ (28¾)	15 (86)
Warwick ...	Merton	24	,,	74 ,,	169
Stafford ...	Saisdon	21	Liberi homines	27 ,,	81
Salop. ...	Condover	48	Liberi homines and liberty of commendation	58 ,,	119
Cheshire ...	Dudestan	45	Liberi homines	57½ ,,	121½

Whether these hundreds are typical of the county or no, these figures show that a large proportion of the inhabitants of England in 1066 were extra-manorial, and owned lands which owed service to none but the King or the King's grantee. They were in possession of ancient freeholds, and did not derive their land from the grant of any lord.

Another point to be noticed is the large number of pre-Conquest vills of which there was no lord. The case of Orwell has already been referred to, and at the risk of repetition, it must be again stated that Orwell was by no means an exceptional case. Brize Norton (Oxon.) was another vill which in pre-Conquest days had no lord, and will be discussed on the next page. Eight freemen held Knighton and The Down, in the Isle of Wight, in allodium of King Edward,[1] and Lisland was held by five freemen in allodium.[2] And even in many vills of which the large proportion belonged to one magnate or another, there were often many freeholders owing service to no one but the King, and deriving their lands from the grant of no lord. Almost every page of the Cambridgeshire Inquest will show this feature, and Mr. Round quotes many cases, in his introduction to the Hertfordshire Domesday in the *Victoria County History* of that county.

3. THEIR CONDITION IN 1086

That "the thin red line of the Norman Conquest" produced changes in the economic position of the tillers of the soil, is admitted on all hands, and a careful study of Domesday Book will show that these changes were decidedly for the worse. Possibly the greatest change was the entire disappearance of the freeholders in many counties. The 114 liberi homines and the 105 allodiaries of Sussex had entirely disappeared; the 1032 sokemen of Cambridgeshire had decreased to 213. By this we mean—not that 819 sokemen

[1] D. B., I. 39 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 39 b 2.

in Cambridgeshire had been killed off, but that they had suffered an economic change, and had been depressed into the villan class; in addition to their other services, their new lord exacted week-work from them. We have already noticed the Benfleet case of a freeman who was made one of the villans: and although no such precise statement can be found elsewhere, yet it is not hard to find cases where freemen and sokemen have been depressed to the status of villans. Brize Norton (Oxon.) was in 1066 assessed at 15 hides: fourteen thegns held 14H 1½V, which after the Conquest passed to Roger of Ivri, who granted the property to Fulco. In 1086 Fulco had in demense 5 hides "of the land of the villans," where he had five teams and one knight, and there were thirteen villans.[1] The statement that he had "5 hides of the land of the villans" must mean that this land had formerly formed part of the holdings of the villagers, from which he had evicted them. The change from "thegn" to "villan" shows that the inhabitants who formerly had rendered military service to the King, were now obliged to perform week-work on their lord's demesne. The knight was evidently in possession of the holding, or perhaps only of the house, of the fourteenth thegn. But one of those who had held land in Brize Norton in 1066 apparently retained his holding in 1086 and his status as a freeholder. For in the list of "King's ministers" Godwin appears as holding 2½ virgates at Norton of the King.[2]

Hugh de Porth held land at Pesinges and Piham, in Kent, in 1086, where three and a half teams were employed and six villans lived. But in 1066 these lands had been held by six men who could go where they would with their lands. May we not see in these six villans the depressed successors of six freeholders or gafolgelders?[3]

In Eversholt (Beds.) Ansgot of Rochester held 2 hides

[1] D. B., I. 158 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 160 b 2.
[3] D. B., I. 10 b 2; quoted *D. B. and B.*, 64.

of the Bishop of Bayeux, on which were four villans. But before the Conquest this land had been held by four thegns, with liberty of sale. He held in Middleton 4 hides with four villans and three bordars, and had one team in demesne; but these 4 hides had previously been held by seven sokemen, with liberty of sale.[1] Similarly there were twelve villans on the land of Herbert fitz Ivo, which had previously been held by twelve sokemen, with liberty of sale.[2] That in all these Bedfordshire cases there had been a degradation from one class to another is proved by the statement in the entry concerning the land of Herbert fitz Ivo at Carlton, that there were two sokemen who had held the same land in 1066, with liberty of sale. The Commissioners must have seen some difference between the sokemen and the villans.

Those freeholders who were so fortunate as to maintain their superior position after the Conquest were in most cases subjected to increased services, and it must be remembered that in many cases their services were now rendered to a subject, and not to the King. Thus at Mutford there were eighty-seven freemen, who rendered 13*s.* 6*d.* in 1066; twenty years later their payments had been increased to £30.[3] At Ringsfield there were twelve freemen who paid nothing in 1066, but from whom £25 were exacted in 1086.[4] In one case we can see the steps by which the payments were increased. At Bergholt, before the Conquest, the freemen had voluntarily (*gratis*) given fourpence each to the reeve, and had rendered soke as it was due (*sicut lex ferebat*); but when Roger Bigot was sheriff his ministers increased their payment to £15. Under Robert Malet it was still further increased to £20; but in 1086 Aluric Wanz held them on the same terms as they were in 1066.[5] These freemen were fortunate in being able to return to the *status quo ante*. But this case is unique.

[1] D. B., I. 209 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 209 b 2. [3] *Id.*, II. 283.
[4] *Id.*, II. 282 b. [5] *Id.*, II. 287 b.

Another instance of the increased services exacted from former freeholders is to be found in the hundred of Flamingdike (Cambs.), where there were twenty-six sokemen holding under the King, who, T. R. E., found twelve sentinels if the King came into the county, or 12*s.* 8*d.* in lieu thereof. But Picot the sheriff was not content with the old services, and exacted an additional payment of £8.[1] In the shires of Lincoln and York the sokemen were not so harshly treated as in the rest of the country. They seem to have retained their privileged position, and their services were not materially increased after the Conquest; sometimes they held at merely nominal rents. A bovate of sokeland at Breaston (Derby) rendered two spurs to Geoffrey Alselin.[2]

This depression might, however, be brought about, not by intentional harsh dealing on the part of their new lords, but by fiscal causes. At the time of Domesday Book the price of an ox was 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*, and if the tenant of a hide was obliged in 1084 to sell three of his team to pay the geld of 6*s.* a hide, he would find that it would be better for him to surrender part of his land to his lord and take the remainder on a new agreement, if by so doing he could keep his oxen; and in the same way it would be better for him to increase his annual payments for a sum in cash which would enable him to pay his geld.

In the changes brought about by the Conquest as much stress was laid on the personal relationship created by commendation as on the relationship created by soke or services. We have already noticed the claim of the Bishop of Coutances, who had succeeded Borred in Beds, and Northants, to the homage of certain sokemen who had been the men of Borred. Geoffrey of Mandeville, who succeeded Ansgar the Staller, often succeeded to the lands of the men who had been commended to Ansgar. At Bordesdon (Herts) William held of Robert of Gernon half a virgate which had belonged to

[1] D. B., I. 190 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 276 b 2.

Leofwin, a man of Godwin of Bendfield, whose soke belonged to Ansgar.[1] If the post-Conquest succession had followed the soke, this land would have passed to Geoffrey of Mandeville. On the other hand, there were cases in which the succession followed the soke. Ansgar held the manor of Sawbridgeworth T. R. E., where there were four sokemen, all of whom could sell, but their soke belonged to Ansgar. Of these one had commended himself to Earl Harold, and one to Alwin of Godtone, and the other two had commended themselves to Ansgar; but Geoffrey of Mandeville succeeded to the manor and to the lands of all four sokemen.[2]

The statistics relating to Essex throw much light on other changes brought about by the Conquest. Professor Maitland has called attention to the decrease in the numbers of villans and slaves and the increase in the number of bordars in that county.[3] In the hundred of Barstaple the figures for the two periods can be tabulated as follows:—

	1066.	1086.
Villans	198	182
Bordars	384	572
Slaves	149	90

The bordars had increased at the expense of the villans and slaves. Evidently their numbers had been increased by impoverished villans and enfranchised slaves; the heavy geld of 1084 would account for the impoverishment of the villans, and the enfranchisement of the slaves may be the result of another economic change. The lords seem to be learning to rely less on the work of the slaves whom they maintained, and more on the work of those who maintained themselves on their own plots of land.

As before, so after the Conquest, the slaves were the lowest in the social scale. In 1086 they formed 9 per cent. of the recorded population; and Mr. Seebohm's invaluable

[1] D. B., I. 138 a 1. [2] *Id.*, 140 a 1.
[3] *D. B. and B.*, 35.

maps[1] show that they were most numerous in the western parts of the island, and formed as much as 21 per cent. of the population of Cornwall. On the other hand, no slaves were recorded in York, Lincoln, Rutland, or Huntingdon, and they were only one-half of 1 per cent. of the population of Nottingham, and 1 per cent. of that of Derbyshire. Their density in the western counties appears to show that the English conquest of the west was milder than in the east, and that many of the conquered Britons were spared to work for their conquerors.

As a general rule, Domesday Book couples the slaves with the teams in demesne, and thus shows that they were employed in cultivating the demesne farm of their owners. Thus at Combe, Oxon., "there are in demesne two teams and two slaves; and six villans and six bordars have three teams." In the western counties the numbers of "servi" and "ancillæ," male and female slaves, are often recorded separately; and in Herefordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire we read of "bovarii" who are also usually coupled with the teams in demesne. Mr. Round has pointed out that these bovarii average two to each team, and suggests that they were the slaves whose duty it was to take charge of the lord's plough when it was at work;[2] but on the other hand, it must be remembered that sometimes free (*liberi*) bovarii are recorded.

The Rectitudines Singularum Personarum shows that the pre-Conquest slaves were maintained by their masters, and held no land. The same is true of many of the slaves recorded in Domesday Book; for while the Commissioners for Middlesex often state the holdings of the several tenants on the various estates, in no case is any slave stated to hold any land; and the slaves were 5 per cent. of the recorded population in Middlesex. The Exeter Inquest, however, often speaks of slaves with oxen, and therefore with land, in the south-

[1] *English Village Community*, 86.
[2] *V. C. H., Essex*, i. 361.

western counties, and applies that term to those who in the Exchequer Domesday are called "slaves" and "villans."

Next above the slaves in the social scale were the cottagers, who were called indiscriminately "bordars" or "cottagers" according to the fancy of the Commissioners or their scribes. In some hundreds of Sussex they were called "bordars," and in others they were called "cottars;" and in that county the two names never appear in the same manor. We have seen that before the Conquest a *cotsetle* occupied, as a rule, some 5 acres of land, and worked one day a week on his lord's demesne, and have quoted a passage from Domesday Book which tells how the bordars at Ewias worked one day a week for their lord. At Evesham there were twenty-seven bordars serving the court (*servientes curiam*),[1] an expression which also points to their works on the demesne. An examination of the various classes of tenants in Middlesex shows a distinction between the bordars and cottagers: while the villans usually held half a virgate or more, the bordars held from 5 acres to half a virgate, and the cottars held less than 5 acres; some cottars even appear to have been landless men. The Ely Inquest, however, speaks of cottars who held as much as 10 acres.[2] At Westminster there were forty-one cottars who paid 40*s.* for their gardens,[3] and at Sawbridgeworth there were forty-six bordars of 8 acres each, and two of 5 acres each, twenty cottars who held 26 acres between them, and thirty cottars about whose holdings we have no information; and as these latter are coupled with the slaves, it is not improbable that they were landless.[4]

But the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum draws a distinction between the cottager and the slave. The former paid his hearthpenny on Holy Thursday, "as every freeman should do;" he was therefore a freeman, and his kinsfolk received a wergild of 200*s.* if he was killed, while the kinsfolk

[1] D. B., I. 175 b 1.
[2] Seebohm, *E. V. C.*, 96.
[3] D. B., I. 128 a 2.
[4] D. B., I. 139 b 2.

of the slave received only 40*d.*; and there is no evidence in Domesday Book to show that even after the Conquest the cottager had ceased to be a freeman.

The same document draws a further distinction between the cottager and the gebur. The latter was provided with oxen, and was liable to perform ploughing service for his lord; the former had no oxen provided for him, and escaped all liability to plough. Domesday Book seems to point to a similar distinction between the villan and the bordar, for, except in a very small number of cases, the holdings of the bordars in Middlesex are expressed in terms of acres and not of virgates; and when we read of two or more bordars holding a virgate, it is possible that the holding of a villan furnishing a couple of oxen to the manorial plough had passed to his sons, and remained undivided at his death.

Another point has still to be noticed in connection with the cottagers. Their 5-acre plots were obviously too small to provide them with all the food they required, even although they were allowed to turn their swine on the waste land of the village. And it has been suggested by Professor Vinogradoff that they were already a wage-earning class, and employed their spare time in working for the lord or the richer villagers, or in the village industries. He sees in them the most advanced class from the economic standpoint.[1]

Some 38 per cent. of the recorded population in 1086 were villans. We have already equated the villan with the gebur, and have seen that he was a freeman occupying land who performed week-work on his lord's demesne farm; like the freeholders and the sokemen, the villans, too, had their burdens increased by the Conquest. At Leominster there were, in 1066, 238 villans who ploughed and sowed with their own seed 140 acres of wheat, and paid £11 4*s.* 4*d.* as custom. In 1086 their number was reduced to 223, who ploughed and

[1] *G. M.*, 353.

sowed with their own seed 125 acres, and paid dues amounting to £12 4*s.* 8½*d.*[1]

But as for the bordars, so for the villans, there is no evidence in Domesday Book to show that they had lost their status as freemen, or their wergild of 200*s.* The Leges Henrici I. expressly state that the wergild of the villan and of the sokeman was 200*s.* They were still suitors of the hundredmoot, and were capable of giving evidence, as is shown by the record of the lawsuit between Hugh de Porth and Picot concerning Charford (Hants).[2] We may go further, and say that there is positive evidence that the villan of 1086 was a freeman. To the manor of South Perrot (Somerset) every freeman in the manor of Crewkerne rendered one bloom of iron;[3] but at Crewkerne there was no one but villans, bordars, coliberts, and slaves.[4] Again, although in later years the boast of the men of Kent was that they were all freemen, yet, in 1086, 54 per cent. of the population were classed as villans.

But, however free he might be in the eyes of the law, economically he was annexed to the soil, if, like the pre-Conquest gebur, all his outfit reverted to his lord on his leaving his holding.

In Hampshire and some other counties the Commissioners mention a class of "coliberti," and explain that, as an alternative, they may be called "burs." Thus at Cosham there were, T. R. E., "8 burs id est Coliberti;"[5] and Professor Maitland argues from this record, and the explanation thus given, that this small class of coliberti represents the geburs. On the other hand, Professor Vinogradoff considers that the coliberts represent slaves who were enfranchised in a body, and started in life as geburs by the provision of oxen by their lord.[6] And it is remarkable that on eight of the royal manors in Wiltshire they are coupled with the slaves, while in three

[1] D. B., 180 a 1. [2] *Id.*, 44 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 86 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 86 b 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 38 a 1. [6] *G. M.*, 385.

only are they coupled with the villans and bordars; usually in Hampshire they are coupled with the slaves. Whatever their position, they were a very small class, as Sir Henry Ellis counts only 858 coliberts and 62 boors as compared with 108,456 villans. The Continental colibert occupied an intermediate position between the freeman and the slave; if he left his lord, he could be recaptured.[1]

Our proposal to see in the villan of 1086 the representative of the gebur of 1025 must be modified in those counties where no distinction is drawn between villans and freemen or sokemen. Here the exalted position of the Commissioners prevented their seeing any distinction between the gebur and the geneat; both lived side by side in the same vill, and both rendered services on the demesne; but the services of the gebur were rendered every week, while those of the geneat were rendered only at special seasons.

On the whole, the distinction between the five classes enumerated in the questions put to the Cambridgeshire jurors appears to be economic rather than legal. The slaves were maintained by their lords; the bordars occupied small areas of land, and worked one day a week on their lord's demesne; the villans occupied larger areas, which they cultivated by the plough, and for which they worked two or three days a week on their lord's demesne, and rendered team-labour. The sokemen differed from the villans in that their services were merely occasional, and not regular; and the freeholders differed from the sokemen only in owing services to the King alone, or to some grantee of the King.

In addition to these five classes, the Commissioners enumerated a number of persons who may be collected into a miscellaneous class. Some were distinguished by the part they played in the economy of the manor. At Leominster there were eight *prepositi*, or reeves, and eight bedells. The duties of the reeve are well set out in the document discovered

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 37.

by Dr. Liebermann, and printed in the first volume of Dr. Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce;* it was his duty to superintend the working of the manor; to take charge of the stock, and account for sales; to see that the labour dues were duly rendered, and the work properly performed. The bailiff's accounts of the thirteenth and following centuries are perfect mines of information as to wages and prices, and are the foundation of Thorold Roger's *History of Agriculture and Prices.* The reeve was usually one of the villans on the estate, and was elected by his fellows. He was rewarded for his services by a small allowance in money, and by entire release from the services which otherwise would have been rendered by him in respect of his holding. Domesday Book tells us that the Reeve of Tangmere received 20*s.*[1] The pre-Conquest bailiff of the Manor of Lene was accustomed to present the wife of Earl Morcar, when she visited the manor, with 18 ounces of pennies, "that she might be of joyful mind," and her steward and other servants received 30*s.* from him.[2] The bedell was an assistant to the reeve, but he appears very rarely in the thirteenth-century accounts. Other manorial officials were the smiths, of whom sixty-four are recorded in Domesday Book. He, too, in later centuries, was exempted from the services due from his holding, on account of his doing the repairs in the ploughs and other dead stock of the manor. Two carpenters were mentioned as living at Utbech,[3] and there was a ditcher (*fossarius*) who held half a hide at Berkhampstead.[4] But the largest section in this miscellaneous group was that of the swineherds, of whom Sir Henry Ellis counts 427. Later, when we come to speak of the live stock, we shall see the important part that the large herds of swine played in the economy of the eleventh century. Almost as important as the swineherds were the fishermen (111) and salt-workers (108), but of them, too, we shall speak

[1] D. B., I. 16 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 179 b 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 202 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 136 b 2.

later. In Cornwall we find forty *cervisiarii*, who were either brewers or men whose rents were paid in beer. At Westbury there were five *mellitarii*, who would appear to have paid a honey rent for their land:[1] such a rent was not uncommon, as will be seen later. In Northamptonshire there were iron-workers (*ferrarii*), and in Bedfordshire were five potters (*figuli*).

In almost every county were a few tenants who paid a money rent; they were called *censores*, *censuarii*, or *gablatores*; but all told they number only 166.

In Wilts, Somerset, and Shropshire there appears a class of *cozets*, or *coscets*, who are usually reckoned as cottagers; but Archdeacon Hale suggests that the word is a corruption of *casearius*, and classes the persons to whom it is applied as cheesemakers.

In Table C is printed a slightly rearranged abstract of Sir Henry Ellis's figures, showing the numbers of the various classes mentioned in Domesday Book.

4. THE POST-DOMESDAY EVIDENCE

For the purposes of comparison with Domesday Book, the three series of manorial extents contained in the cartularies of Burton and Peterborough Abbeys are the most valuable evidence that we have. The two extents relating to the manors of Burton Abbey are shown by Mr. Round[2] to approximately date from between the years 1116 and 1133; and the Peterborough extent, known as the Liber Niger, must have been compiled between the years 1125 and 1128; so that all three extents show the condition of the manors therein surveyed within half a century of the compilation of Domesday Book.

In order to assist our comparison, it will be better to print side by side the surveys of one of the Peterborough

[1] D. B., I. 65 a 2.

[2] *E. H. R.*, 1905, 275, etc.

manors as contained in Domesday Book and in the Liber Niger.

Domesday Book, I. 221, a 1.	*Liber Niger, Chronicon Petroborgense*, p. 158.
The said Church holds 6 hides in Pillesgete.	In Pilesgete are 3 hides to the King's geld.
There is land for 6 teams.	
In demesne is one with one slave.	In the demesne of the Court is one plough of 8 oxen, and 1 boar and 2 calves, and 1 ram and 2 foals, and 9 score sheep, and 20 pigs.
And 9 villans	And 8 villans hold 1 hide and 1 virgate. And they have 2 teams whence they plough for the lord's need, 8 acres of winter ploughing, and 8 acres of spring ploughing (*tremeis*), and work three days in the week.
and 2 bordars	And there is one bordar and 2 oxherds (*bovarii*), holding land by service, and one shepherd.
and 26 sokemen	And 44 sokemen.
	And all these with the villans aforesaid render 44*s.* per annum.
have 11 teams.	And all these sokemen have 8 teams and thence plough three times in the year; and each of them mows in August half an acre of the Lord's corn, and twice in August performs a boon-work, and each harrows one day in spring.
There is a mill of 10*s.*	And one mill which renders 4*s.*
and 40 acres of meadow and 5 acres of wood.	

Here we see that the distinction that we have drawn from Domesday evidence alone between the villan and the sokeman is borne out by evidence which dates from forty years or so of Domesday Book; and this evidence is entirely in favour of our contention that the Domesday villan represented the pre-Conquest gebur, and the Domesday sokeman was the pre-Conquest geneat: this distinction between the villan rendering week-work and the sokeman rendering boon-work only, runs through all the Liber Niger, except at Scottere and Scalthorpe, where the villans worked two days a week, and the sokemen worked only one.[1]

Except in one passage, the Burton extents do not speak of sokemen; but a distinction is drawn between the villans, who rendered week-work, and the censarii, who paid a money rent and performed boon-works. For instance, at Stratton (Staffs.) the earlier extent tells us that there were eighteen villans, who each held 2 bovates of land and worked two days a week, and performed other services. Ailward, a censarius, also held 2 bovates, for which he paid 3*s.* a year, and made 2 perches of fencing at the court, and 2 perches of fencing in the wood; he also lent his plough twice a year to his lord, and reaped for three days in August with his family.[2] In the later extent these censarii are said to hold *ad malam*. A comparison of the services leads us to identify the Stratton censarii with the Pillesgete sokemen, and this identification is supported by the fact that the services of the sokemen at Winshall, Derbyshire[3] (the only passage where sokemen are mentioned in the Burton extents), are exactly the same as those of the censarii at Stratton. But Domesday Book speaks of no sokemen on the Burton manors except at Winshall; why, then, do we find censarii in the extents? In his *Villeinage in England*, Professor Vinogradoff thinks that the molmen, the tenants who held

[1] *Id.*, p. 164.

[2] *Collections for Hist. of Staffs.*, v. 1, 25.

[3] *Id.*, 29.

ad malam, were villans who had commuted their week-works for money payments—a theory for which the Hundred Rolls give ample support. But in his later work, *The Growth of the Manor*,[1] he appears to suggest that the Domesday Commissioners included both geburs and geneats in the same category of villans. We have seen reason to object to this theory in the counties where Domesday Book draws a distinction between villans and sokemen; but Staffordshire is one of the counties where no such distinction is drawn, and these Burton extents would appear to show a large number of sokemen or geneats included among the villans of Staffordshire—especially when it is remembered that one, at least, of the censarii at Stratton was enfeoffed by charter.[2] But Mr. Baring advances strong arguments in favour of his contention that the rent-paying tenants on these estates were omitted from Domesday Book.[3]

To trace the history of these five classes of men from the time of Domesday Book to the Black Death is far too large a task to be attempted in these pages; but there are two or three points that must be noticed, if only to emphasize the changes brought about by the Conquest.

In the Hundred Rolls of 1279 we have a detailed account of portions of the counties of Oxford, Berks., Beds., Hunts., and Cambridge, on which Mr. Seebohm has drawn largely for his description of the thirteenth-century manor. These Hundred Rolls show us estates of lords, containing demesne which was cultivated by the tenurial labour of the villans and cottagers living in the village. The first point of difference that confronts us is the entire disappearance of the class of landless slaves, who were maintained by their owner; the word "servus" often occurs in the Rolls, but it is invariably applied to the tenant of a certain area of land, and is often equated with "villain." But if the slaves have disappeared,

[1] Page 342.

[2] *Collections for Hist. of Staffs.*, 31.

[3] *E. H. R.*, 1896, p. 98.

the villain and the cottager have been degraded into a semi-servile condition.[1] They were unable to leave the manor without paying a fine to their lord, and if they lived elsewhere they must pay "chivage"—head-money—for permission so to do; they were obliged to redeem their children, to pay fines for permission to give their daughters in marriage, or to educate their sons for the Church; they paid merchet for the incontinence of their women-folk; they could not sell ox nor horse without their lord's licence; they could not sue him in the King's courts; and they were liable to tallage at his will. To discuss the question how these disabilities became fixed on the class of villans would be out of place here; it is sufficient to point out their existence in the thirteenth century, and to argue that, as there is no trace of their existence in the pre-Conquest documents, they must have been a consequence of the Norman Conquest—in fact, the lawyers of the reign of Henry II. attribute some of them to the changes produced by that conquest.[2]

Alongside the villains and cottagers appears a class of freeholders—"liberi tenentes"—who usually paid for their land a money rent or a nominal acknowledgment, such as a rose or a pound of pepper. In the law-courts such tenants were said to hold "in socage"—a term that was applied to all tenures that were not military, or "in serjeantry," or "in villainage." Bishop Stubbs defines *socage* as "tenure by fixed and determinate services, usually suit of court;"[3] but Professor Maitland has called attention to the dispute between two schools of lawyers in the thirteenth century on the point whether suit of court was a necessary service of the tenant in socage, or whether it should be reserved in the charter creating the holding—a dispute which was settled by the Provisions of Westminster in 1259 and the Statute of

[1] It is to avoid this connotation of serfdom that I have omitted the "i" in speaking of the *villans* of Domesday Book.

[2] *Dial. Scac.*, i. 10.

[3] *Select Charters*, Glossary.

Marlborough in 1267, which provided that for the future no socager should be obliged to attend his lord's court unless it was so stipulated in his charter, or his predecessors in title had attended the court before 1230.[1]

Again, it must be remembered that Lyttleton, in speaking of socage tenants, tells how they had to lend their ploughs to their lords several times during the year, and even derives their name from *soc*, a ploughshare, but says not a word about suit of court.[2] In giving this false etymology, Lyttleton follows Bracton;[3] and the language of both writers shows how little connection there was in their minds between soke and suit of court. The Burton Chartulary[4] quotes many leases for two lives or more, some of them dating within a generation of Domesday Book, granted by the abbey. Money rent and occasional services are the consideration for such services, and suit of court is, in some cases, expressly reserved: this express reservation is reason for doubting whether suit of court was obligatory on the sokemen of the previous century without express reservation.

Apart, however, from the question of suit of court, the services required from socagers were fixed and determinate. Tenure in socage is frequently mentioned in Bracton's *Note-Book*, and in all cases emphasis is laid on the nature of these services, and suit of court is not mentioned. Thus it was proved that certain land was held in socage at a rent of 200 herrings a year (No. 1076), and that a mill was held in socage of the King on payment of 2*s.* a year and a golden spur (No. 1109). But for our purpose the case of Agnes of Dagenham *v.* the Abbess of Barking (No. 758) is most valuable. The defendant alleged that she held certain land of the abbess in socage at a money rent and by the service

[1] *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*, II. xlix. I have to thank Dr. Holdsworth for calling my attention to this reference.

[2] Lyttleton, 119.

[3] Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, i. 274.

[4] *E. H. R.*, 1905, 281, 282.

of "journeying with the said abbess to her manors, or sending with her any man of hers, French or English, provided he was not a villain of the abbess." The court held that she had not proved that these were the terms of her tenancy, and that she was a tenant by military service; but her attempt to prove that her tenure was socage, by alleging that she rendered services similar to those of the freeman at Cirencester in 1086, and of the radman at Hallow, and of the geneat of the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, shows the connection between the socage tenure of the thirteenth century and the tenure of the sokemen of the eleventh century.

The monastic cartularies give many instances of grants of land in socage. In the year after the death of the Conqueror, the Abbot of Ramsey granted Over (Cambs.) on a lease for the lives of a man and his wife, at a fine of a mark of gold and a rent of £6 a year;[1] and a few years later he leased Dillington to Ralph, the brother of Ilger (who is mentioned in Domesday Book), for life at a rent of £3 a year.[2] Between 1205 and 1222 Walter, Abbot of Malmesbury, granted half a hide in Walcot, for which the tenant was to pay 8*s.* a year rent, 12*d.* for hundred-silver, and 18*d.* for yeresyive (New Year's gift); in addition, he had to provide 5 bushels of wheat for church-shot, and to perform certain agricultural services—to plough 2 acres, to mow 1 acre, and to reap for two days in the abbot's fields.[3] Previously Abbot Osbert (*c.* 1180) had granted half a hide at Foxham at a yearly rent of 14*s.*, and the tenant was to plough 3 acres of the abbot's land.[4] The services here reserved are boon-works, occasional works at busy times.

Hence we see that the socage tenants after the Conquest rendered definite services for their lands, and that it was a matter of dispute whether, without an express reservation,

[1] Cart. Rams., i. 120.
[2] *Id.*, 128.
[3] Registrum Malmesburiense, i. 436.
[4] *Id.*, 459.

these services included suit of court. Our contention is that the sokemen of Domesday Book rendered definite services for their lands, and that they did not render suit of court unless their lords had sake as well as soke over them; surely, if every sokeman had been bound to suit of court at the time of Domesday Book, no dispute could have arisen a century and a half later.

CHAPTER VIII

THE APPURTENANCES OF THE MANOR

"*Quantum silvæ? Quantum prati? Quot pascuarum? Quot molini? Quot piscariæ?*"

MR. SEEBOHM has shown that, in addition to the two or three fields of arable land lying round a thirteenth-century village, it, like a properly equipped farm of to-day, also possessed woods, meadows, and pastures; and we find that, with but few exceptions, these woods, meadows, and pastures are recorded in Domesday Book. Other appurtenances were enumerated by the Commissioners, which are not included in the questions addressed to the Cambridgeshire jurors.

I. THE WOODS

Every page of Domesday Book shows that eight hundred years ago there was more woodland in England than there is to-day: its silences are as eloquent as its statistics. The map of Sussex, which gives only the villages and settlements mentioned in Domesday Book, shows that only its southern part was settled in 1086; at least one-third of that county was then a wild trackless district, including much woodland, parts of which—St. Leonard's Forest and Ashdown Forest—even now remain in their primæval state. The southern part of Surrey was similarly uninhabited, and the boundary between the two counties was not defined till much later.

We are, however, here concerned with the smaller pieces of woodland attached to definite estates. Whenever a wood is recorded, some indication of its size is also given. If we return to the three Oxfordshire manors to which reference has previously been made, we find that both at Combe and Stanton Harcourt there were woods "a league and a half in length, and the same in breadth," while no wood is recorded as belonging to Deddington. But, as has been said above, we must not consider these woods as being squares with a side of 12 furlongs; these are the extreme measurements, and no attention was paid to the shape of the wood. There are a few cases in Essex of measurement of the wood by hides and acres: at Burstead there were 5 hides of wood, and at Barstable there were 30 acres of wood. Sometimes a large wood was not specifically divided. There was a large wood in the hundred of Hertford, of which Ralph de Limesi claimed as much as pertained to 3 hides of Emmeswelle, and the canons of Waltham claimed as much as pertained to 1 hide.[1] The whole county of Leicester had a wood (Hereswode) 4 leagues in length and 1 in breadth.[2] Another wood belonging to different owners in individual shares was Hawcombe Wood, in Dorset, of which two parts were in the King's farm, and "the third part, or the third oak" belonged, T. R. E., to Earl Edwin.[3] Most frequently the wood was used in common by the lord and his tenants; but a distinction is drawn at Rodolei between the demesne wood and the wood of the villans, the former being more than double the size of the latter.[4]

The woodland would be useful to the villagers in many ways. In later centuries every tenant of a manor was entitled to firing and materials for the repair of his house and fences in the manorial woods. Such rights are mentioned in Domesday Book. At Malvern the Bishop of Worcester had firing

[1] D. B., I. 140 b 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 230 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 75 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 230 a 2.

NOVEMBER. BURNING WOOD

and material for the repair of his houses, although the wood had been taken into the King's forest.[1] The manor of Newton (Wilts.) had a customary right to have in the wood of Milchet eighty waggon-loads of timber for repairing its houses and fences when necessary;[2] and in Middlesex the usual formula is "nemus ad sepes," wood sufficient for fencing; in Cambridgeshire the formula is often, "silva ad clausurem." Another purpose for which the wood was used was as a feeding-ground for the pigs of the villagers, which would feed there in the autumn on the acorns and beech-mast. Great numbers of pigs were so turned out: in the single hundred of Barstable (Essex) there was wood for 3982 pigs. In Shropshire the usual formula is, "wood for fattening X pigs;" but in other counties the statement is, "wood for X pigs." For the privilege of so turning out their pigs, the tenants always made some recognition, which was called "pannage." At Malling, in Sussex, the Archbishop of Canterbury received three hundred swine from the pannage of the wood.[3] In many counties the area of the wood is expressed by the number of the swine given to the lord by way of pannage. At Leominster every villan having ten pigs paid one to the lord by way of pannage.[4] From the manor of Eling was taken into the New Forest the houses of sixteen villans and three bordars, and wood yielding 280 pigs by way of pannage.[5] Such woods in which pigs could be fed were styled in Derbyshire "silvæ pastiles," and were contrasted with "silvæ vastatæ" (unfruitful woods).

Occasionally woods were valuable for other reasons: the hawks' nests therein are always noted; as are the "haiæ," the enclosures for catching roebucks, as they are specifically called in Shropshire and Cheshire. The duty of making these deer-hays was called the "stabilatio," and is often referred to: it was one of the duties of the Lancashire

[1] D. B., I. 173 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 68 a 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 16 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 180 a 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 38 b 2.

thegns;[1] and in Berkshire the man who was summoned to make the deer-hay ("ad stabilationem venationis") and made default, paid 50*s.* to the King.[2] Wild honey was often found in the woods, and was duly accounted for; from the large wood at Eling, previously referred to, 3 sextars of honey were given to the lord.[3] From his wood at Malvern the Bishop of Worcester had, T. R. E., hunting and honey, and whatever thence issued, and also 10*s.*[4] When woodland was broken up for cultivation it was called "assarts:" 58 acres of "essarz" are recorded at Marcle;[5] and the "assarts" at Leominster yielded 17*s.* 4*d.*[6]

The mention of the Bishop of Worcester's rights of hunting in the wood at Malvern reminds us that at the time of Domesday Book a large part of England was "forest"-land—that is, land outside (*foris*) the common law, and subject to a special law, of which the object was to preserve the hunting on these tracts for the King and his favourites. But it is only incidentally that Domesday Book mentions these forests, and the only forests of which it gives any particulars are the Oxfordshire forests of Stowood, Shotover, Wychwood, and Woodstock, which were stated to be 9 leagues (13½ miles) long, and the same in breadth. "To these forests pertained 4½ hides; and 6 villans with 8 bordars have 3½ teams; from them and the pertinences of the forests, Rainald renders £10 per annum to the King."[7] From the Herefordshire forests, which were held by William fitz Norman, the King received £15.[8] The lands about the New Forest have a special section of the Hampshire Domesday to themselves, and show that, as at Eling, the King evicted a number of agriculturalists to make room for those tall stags which he loved "as though he was their father;" but his usual method of enlarging the forest was by confiscating from their owners

[1] D.B., I. 269 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 56 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 36 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 173 a 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 179 b 2. [6] *Id.*, 180 a 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 154 b 2. [8] *Id.*, I. 181 a 1.

FEBRUARY. PRUNING

OCTOBER. HAWKING

and subjecting to the forest laws the whole or portions of those separate woods which had previously belonged to estates in its neighbourhood. Sir Henry Ellis states that the assessment of certain estates, parts of which were taken into the New Forest, was reduced by such abstractions from 216 hides to 76 hides, and their values from £364 to £129. Other forests mentioned in Domesday Book are those of Windsor, Gravelinges, Wimburne, Dean, Herefordshire, Malvern, and Essex; and in many cases the only reference to these forests is that the King took the wood of certain estates and placed it under the forest law. Among the lesser tenants *in capite* are frequent hunters and foresters, and certain lands were held at Dene (Glos.) by William fitz Norman for keeping the forest.[1] At Writtle a swine-herd was promoted to be forester in the King's wood in Essex.[2]

2. THE MEADOWS AND PASTURES

To the ordinary town-dweller all grassland is alike; to him the difference between "meadow" and "pasture" is unmeaning. In Domesday Book "meadow" is always used to denote grassland bordered by a stream, and capable of being flooded, on which hay can be grown; "pasture" is the term which is applied to land which all the year round is available for feeding cattle and sheep. Of course, the arable land provided feed for cattle and sheep between one harvest and the next seed-time, but such feed is always distinguished from "pasture." Usually, meadow and pasture are measured by acres. Referring to our three typical Oxfordshire manors—at Combe there were 15 acres of meadow; at Deddington there were 130 acres of meadow and 30 acres of pasture; at Stanton Harcourt there were 200 acres of meadow and the same quantity of pasture. It is very rare indeed to find a manor to which some meadow did not belong. A glance

[1] D. B., I. 167 a 1. [2] *Id.*, II. 5.

at the map shows how every parish on the southern bank of the Rother in North-West Sussex stretches from the summit of the downs to the river-bank, so that each has its due proportion of river valley for meadow, greensand for arable, and bare down for sheep pasture; and the same feature may be noticed in the Evenlode valley in Oxfordshire, and in other parts of England.

In the same way as, in Essex, the woods are measured by the number of pigs they could feed, so in the same county the size of the pastures was sometimes expressed by the number of sheep they could support. At Lachentun there was pasture for two hundred sheep.[1] Mr. Round[2] has called attention to these sheep pastures in Essex, and points out that to-day there are in many cases outlying portions of marshland belonging to inland parishes, which were formerly used as sheep pastures, and known as "wics." From these "wics" was supplied a considerable quantity of hard cheese, such as is referred to at Kempsford (Glos.), where 120 weys of cheese were produced from the sheep-

fold;[3] and at Buckland (Berks.) there was a wick producing 10 weys of cheese, valued at 32*s.* 4*d.*;[4] at Sparsholt 6 weys of cheese were produced from the dairy ("vaccaria").[5] Countess Judith gave to St. Helena a sheepfold of 672 sheep and 60 acres of meadow in Huntingdonshire.[6]

[1] D. B., II. 53.
[2] *V. C. H.*, *Essex*, 373.
[3] D. B., I. 169 a 1.
[4] D. B., I. 58 b 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 57 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, I. 206 b 2.

MAY. SHEPHERDS AND SHEEP

In Middlesex the usual formula to denote the extent of the wood was, "nemus ad sepes;" similarly the usual formula in that county to express the area of the meadow was, "pastura ad pecuniam" (sufficient pasture for the cattle). Sometimes the area of the meadow is signified in the same way. At Aylesbury there was meadow for eight teams, and from the remainder arose rents amounting to 20*s.*;[1] and at Wycombe there was meadow for three teams and for the horses of the manor-house, and for the teams of the villans.[2] A comparison of entries in the Cambridgeshire Inquest with the parallel passages in the Exchequer Domesday shows that in parts of Cambridgeshire no more hay was gathered from 1 acre of meadow than was sufficient to keep one ox during the winter. For instance, at Westley the Cambridgeshire Inquest states, "There is meadow for two oxen;" but the parallel passage in the Exchequer Domesday states, "There are 2 acres of meadow."

Occasionally we are told the profit the lord derived from the pasture. At Hadfield Broad Oak (Essex) there was a meadow which rendered nine fat sheep ("multones") into the manor; and for other part of the same pasture the fifty-eight villans did 41 acres of ploughing on the demesne farm.[3] The Rectitudines Singularum Personarum tells us of the "gras-erth," or ploughing service, which the gebur was obliged to give if he wanted extra pasture. In Sussex, where large numbers of swine were turned out on the rough pasture, the usual payment to the lord was one pig in seven "de herbagio."[4]

Once, at least, a tract of pasture is recorded as being common to a number of vills. "In the hundred of Colness there is a certain pasture common to all the men of the hundred."[5] And mention appears to be made of a pasture which was common to all the tenants of a manor

[1] D. B., I. 143 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 149 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, II. 2 b. [4] *Id.*, I. 16 b 1. [5] *Id.*, II. 339 b.

at Newton (Devon), where "Colsuen, a man of the Bishop of Coutances, took away from this manor a common pasture which there appertained T. R. E., and even for five years T. R. W."[1]

In later years the number of cattle and sheep which any person could turn on to the village pasture was strictly stinted or limited, and the number varied from manor to manor; and we must surmise that such was the rule in the eleventh century. In many cases the meadow was probably Lammas meadow; after hay-time it would be common to the whole village till it was again shut up for hay: the hay crop was often divided between the villagers by lot, as is still done at Yarnton, a village 4 miles north of Oxford.[2]

3. THE MILL

No Domesday vill appears to have been complete without a mill, and in some vills there were more mills than one. At Combe there was one mill of 3*s.*; at Deddington there were three, producing 41*s.* and one hundred eels; and at Stanton Harcourt there were three mills, yielding a rent of 40*s.* Combe Mill may be seen to-day by every passenger along the railway from Oxford to Worcester; and it is possible that in most villages there is no more ancient trace of man's handiwork than the cut which supplies the mill. Mr. Eyton has counted 272 mills in the Dorset Domesday, varying in value from 3*d.* to 25*s.* a year; but some mills were far more valuable. At Petersham there were four mills, producing £42 9*s.* 8*d.*, or corn to that amount.[3] Not infrequently the profits of the mill were rendered in kind. The mill at Bledlow rendered 24 seams of malt;[4] the mill at Arundel rendered 10 modii of wheat, 10 of mixed corn, and 4 modii in addition, which were valued at £14;"[5] the 4 modii "in

[1] D. B., I. 112 b 2.
[2] *Country Life*, vol. 18, p. 710.
[3] D. B., I. 32 a 2.
[4] D. B., I. 146 b 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 23 a 1.

addition" were possibly a premium given by the miller for his lease of the mill, in the same way as the sheriff gave an augmentation for his lease of the county. Of the mill at Rudford (Glos.) the Commissioners naïvely return that "it renders as much corn as can be gained (*quantum potest lucrari*);"[1] while at Marcle "the mill renders nothing but the living of him who keeps it."[2]

Sometimes the sites of mills are recorded. The site of the mill at Lashbrook (Oxon.) yielded 10*s.* a year;[3] and at Setlington (Beds.) there was a broken mill which yielded nothing.[4] These sites of mills were recorded because the franchise to erect a mill was the most valuable mediæval rural franchise, and a mill-owner had the right to prevent the erection of any new mill in prejudice of his own. Hence the record at Farnham (Bucks.): "Ralph Taillebois has erected a mill which was not there T. R. E.;"[5] by so doing he had interfered with some franchise. But the rebuilding of an old mill would be no interference with a franchise. I cannot find any mention in Domesday Book of "suit of mill;" but it is well known that in later years all the inhabitants of the manor were bound to grind their corn at the manorial mill. The inhabitants of Leeds were not freed from this obligation till 1840, when they paid £40,000 for the right to put up their own mills. Occasionally, as at Weaverham and Macclesfield, we read of mills serving the hall or the court,[6] in which case the tenants must have used other mills. The Deddington record above quoted shows that some mills rendered eels, which were evidently obtained from the mill-pond or mill-stream. In the days when the fasts of the Church were observed more strictly than they are to-day, these would form no mean addition to the diet of both clerical and lay landowners.

If an estate with a mill was divided between two or more

[1] D. B., I. 170 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 179 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 157 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 210 b 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 151 b 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 263 b 1, 2.

landowners, it was often the case that the profits of the mill were equally divided, and frequently we meet with manors to which was attached a share in the profits of a mill. To Fetcham (Surrey) pertained a fifth share in one mill and a third share in another.[1] Many mills did not work throughout the year: it was only in winter that some streams had a sufficient flow of water to turn the mill-wheel, and mills on such streams were called "molini hiemales."[2] I have not found any mention of a windmill in Domesday Book.

Possibly some of the mills recorded in Domesday Book were tide-mills, where a mill-pond is filled by the rising tide and emptied by the ebb, when the rush of water turns the wheel. There are two tide-mills in Chichester Harbour to-day, at Birdham and Fishbourne, both of which vills contained mills in 1086. But the one tide-mill distinctly mentioned in Domesday Book was that erected by Hubert fitz Ivo in the entrance of the port of Dover, "which breaks almost all the ships by the great disturbance of the sea, and causes very great damage to the King and his men."[3]

4. THE FISHERIES

We have just alluded to the strictness of mediæval fasting and to the value of the eels from the mill-pond, and the most casual student of Domesday Book must notice the frequency with which the fisheries are recorded. Reverting to our three Oxfordshire examples, there was no fishery recorded at Combe; the mills at Deddington rendered one hundred eels; and two fisheries at Stanton Harcourt produced rents of 30*s*. If we follow the left bank of the Thames downward from Oxford, we find that the fishery at Iffley yielded 4*s*.; two fisheries at Sandford yielded 10*s*.; there were three fishermen at Nuneham; and the fisher on the demesne manor of the Bishop of Lincoln at Dorchester provided him with thirty

[1] D. B., I. 32 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 255 b 1; II. 304. [3] *Id.*, I. 1 a 1.

stitches of eels (a stitch was a quarter of a hundred). Other fish are mentioned in Domesday Book besides eels. The fishery at Petersham yielded 1000 eels and 1000 lampreys to Chertsey Abbey ;[1] the Eaton fishery yielded 1000 salmon ;[2] and the burgesses of the Abbey of Gloucester provided 16 salmon for the church.[3] The borough of Dunwich provided 60,000 herrings for Robert Malet ;[4] and Sandwich rendered 40,000 herrings for the victuals of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury.[5] Southease (Sussex) paid £4 to the Abbey of St. Peter at Winchester in lieu of *marsuins*, or porpoises.[6]

But the chief fisheries were in the fen countries. That of Doddington (Cambs.) yielded 27,550 eels to the Abbot of Ely ;[7] and every page in the Cambridgeshire Domesday shows the importance of the fisheries in that county. Wisbech belonged to the Abbot of Ely, who received 1500 eels from the fishery and 14,000 eels from two fishermen.[8] But other lords had fisheries in Wisbech. The Abbot of St. Edmund's had one fisherman who provided him with 5000 eels ;[9] the Abbot of Ramsey had 5260 eels from eight fishers ;[10] the Abbot of Crowland had three fishers rendering 4000 eels ;[11] and William of Warenne had six fishers who rendered 3500 eels and 5*s.*[12]

In thinking of the Domesday fisheries, we should be wrong if we had in our mind Dr. Johnson's ideal of a line with a fool at one end and a worm at the other. The fishery was then an important business, and there are constant references to the machinery by which the fish were caught. At Swaffham the Abbot of Ely had 6*s.* "from the toll of the net."[13] At Saham the fisher had a "sagena," a fish-trap, in the lake ;[14] and there were many weirs, called "gurgites," in

[1] D. B., I. 32 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 263 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 165 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, II. 311 b. [5] *Id.*, I. 3 a 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 17 b 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 191 b 2. [8] *Id.*, I. 192 a 1. [9] *Id.*, I. 192 a 2.
[10] *Id.*, I. 192 b 2. [11] *Id.*, I. 193 a 1. [12] *Id.*, I. 196 b 1.
[13] *Id.*, I. 190 b 2. [14] *Id.*, I. 192 a 2.

Hertfordshire, and "guorts" in Middlesex. Hence we can understand how it was that Harold forcibly made a fishery at Kingston-on-Thames on land belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral.[1] Evidently he put a weir in the Thames where previously there was none, and that, too, not on his own land, but on that of his neighbour. Mr. Seebohm has illustrated the "puttchers" for catching salmon on the Wye,[2] and Mr. Round has identified the fisheries belonging to the manors on the Essex coasts with the sea-hedges on the shore, which are still used by the fishermen of those parts.[3] Possibly some of the fisheries on the Sussex coasts were of a similar nature, as I have seen stake-nets in use at Felpham in the west, and Bulverhythe in the east of that county. In several manors of Cheshire a rent was derived from the boat and net.

5. THE BURGESSES

Chief among the appurtenances of the manor, which were not enumerated in the questions propounded to the Cambridgeshire jurors, were the town houses and burgesses which were appurtenant to some rural manors. I have dealt with them in another work, and have there given lists of villages which "contributed" burgesses or houses to certain boroughs in their neighbourhood, and in some cases have given maps showing how such villages lay in the neighbourhood of these boroughs. In many counties we find in the middle of the statistics relating to a rural manor, "one burgess, or one house, in Chichester," Winchester, or Gloucester, to quote only three of the "composite" boroughs. It is invariably the rule that, except where a borough lies on the borders of two counties, the villages contributing to it lie in the county in which it lies. Moreover, in the case of those boroughs to which no village is definitely said to contribute, a list is given

[1] D. B., I. 31 a 1. [2] *E. V. C.*, 154.
[3] *V. C. H.*, *Essex*, i. 424.

of the house-owners, most of whom were owners of estates in the county ; and there is evidence to show that they owned their town houses as appurtenances of their rural estates.

The explanation of this fact, first given by Professor Maitland,[1] is that the lords of these villages were bound under the *trinoda necessitas* (the universal obligation to repair the boroughs and the bridges, and to serve in the fyrd) to repair the walls of their county town, and that in order to do so they kept a house in that town and a man in that house, to be on the spot to do what repairs were necessary. Domesday Book states that there were in the city of Oxford certain houses known as "mural mansions," whose duty it was to repair the walls when necessary. All these mural mansions belonged to landowners in the neighbourhood, and appear to be appurtenant to villages in Oxfordshire and Berkshire; and so it is argued that these mural mansions were houses kept by the lords of these rural manors in Oxford, so that there should always be residents to relieve them of their obligation to repair the city walls.

All boroughs, however, were not thus constituted. There are some thirty boroughs situate on rural estates and assessed with those estates. They did not generally contain houses belonging to other manors: and at Steyning, one of such "simple" boroughs, "the burgesses worked at the court as the other villans, T. R. E." [2]

This explanation has been severely criticized by Miss Bateson, who contends that the burgesses who are mentioned in connection with the villages are "upland" burgesses, persons living in villages, who, to obtain trading privileges, enrolled themselves as members of borough communities, in the same way as the Abbot of Buckfastleigh was enrolled as a member of the Guild of Totnes in the year 1236.[3] But in spite of these criticisms, I must still maintain that the

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 189. [2] D. B., I. 17 a 2.
[3] *Gild Merchant*, ii. 235.

burgesses mentioned in connection with the villages resided in the boroughs, but paid dues to their native villages, and that their residence in the boroughs was owing to their liability for the repair of the walls. Even in the eleventh century London must have had immigrants from every county in England; and yet Domesday Book records London burgesses belonging to manors in Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex only. Why is there no mention of the immigrants from Sussex, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire? The only possible reason can be that the immigrants from these latter counties had come to London to make their fortune in trade, and had severed their connection with their native villages; and that the burgesses belonging to the specified manors in Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex were obliged for some reason or other to live in London; and I suggest that the reason for their obligation to live in London was their obligation to repair the walls.

6. THE CASTLES

Closely connected with the burgesses and the boroughs were the castles, of which Domesday Book records fifty. They have all been discussed by Mrs. Armytage, in the *English Historical Review* for 1904, and she has come to the conclusion that the mention of a castle in Domesday Book implies nothing more than a mound or motte, occasionally natural but usually artificial, surrounded by a ditch and surmounted by a wooden building, with a bailey or base court attached thereto, which in its turn was surrounded by a ditch.[1] Such, she thinks, was the building mentioned as

[1] There is no room here for archæological discussion of the various points raised by Mrs. Armytage, but it is right to mention that her wholesale conclusions do not commend themselves to all antiquarians. It is suggested that it would be very strange if the military architecture of the Domesday period had not advanced beyond a mound, a ditch, and a wooden building, when stone churches abounded on all sides. There are substantial remains yet extant of fully two hundred pre-Conquest churches.

"Castrum Harundel," a castle, the building of which tradition attributes to Alfred the Great, and obviously erected to prevent a foreign raider from penetrating into the interior of Sussex by the River Arun. But Castrum Harundel is also described as a borough. Examination shows that it was garrisoned in the same way as Oxford. The neighbouring landowners kept houses and burgesses in the borough, presumably to repair the walls when necessary; but in this case it would seem that the walls were those of the castle and not those of the borough.

There were many castles in Herefordshire.

"Alfred of Marlborough holds the castle of Ewias from the King: for the King granted to him the lands given to him by Earl William (fitz Osbern), who rebuilt the castle; that is, five carucates there and other five at Manitone. The King also granted to him the land of Ralph de Bernai which pertained to the castle."[1]

But there are other entries relating to Ewias—

"In the castellary of Ewias, Roger holds of Henry of Ferrars three churches and a priest, and 32 acres of land which render two sextaries of honey. In the castle he has two masures."[2]

"In the castellary of Ewias Earl William gave to Walter of Lacy four carucates of waste land. Roger of Lacy his son now holds them. . . . The same Roger holds a land called Ewias in the territory of Ewias, which does not pertain to the castellary nor to the hundred."[3]

Here, then, we find certain lands having some connection with the castle, and for that reason called the castellary. And, moreover, one of the persons holding land in the castellary is distinctly stated to have two houses in the castle. Similarly, Osbern fitz Richard had twenty-three men in the castle of Auretone,[4] and mention is made of the castellaries of Auretone, Clifford, and Carleon.

[1] D. B., I. 186 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 185 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 184 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 186 b 2.

In Shropshire "Earl Roger has built a castle called Montgomery, to which adjoin 52½ hides of land;"[1] and in Yorkshire Earl Alan had in his castellate 199 manors, and 43 manors besides his castellary.[2]

What, then, is the meaning of the term "castellary"? It is evidently the name given to an area of land which had some peculiar connection with a castle; and our recollection of "burhbot," the universal obligation to repair the fortified places, will suggest that the castellary was the district which owed burhbot to a particular castle and was responsible for the repair of its walls. And the mention of Roger's two masures in the castle of Ewias, and of Osbern's twenty-three men in the castle of Auretone, invites comparisons with the mural mansions of Oxford, which were maintained by the rural magnates in order that they should have burgesses on the spot to repair the walls when need be.

It is well known that in later years certain lands were held by the custom of "castle guard:" this custom is at least as old as Domesday Book, for there it is recorded that Ralph Passaquam held Drayton (Bucks.) "and found two mailed soldiers (*loricatos*) for the guard of Windsor."[3]

One point more should be noticed in connection with the castles. There were small settlements of burgesses around some of them. Burgesses are mentioned in connection with the castles of Clifford, Okehampton, Penwortham, Rhuddlan, and Wigmore, and at Tutbury there were "in the borough about the castle 42 men living from their own merchandise only."[4] Hence we see how settlers were attracted to places where they could dwell in safety, and so may learn something as to the origin of boroughs.

[1] D. B., I. 254 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 381 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 151 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 248 b 1.

7. THE MARKETS

Markets and fairs are often recorded by the Domesday Commissioners, and considering the great part that the market plays in certain theories as to the origin of boroughs, it is noteworthy that of the forty-two markets mentioned in Domesday Book, only eleven are situate in places that are called boroughs. The market was the most valuable of all the franchises that could be annexed to a manor; for it was only at a market that the villagers could sell their produce and procure the salt and iron and other necessaries that they could not produce for themselves. The market at Neatham (Hants.) produced £8; that of Basingstoke, 30*s.*; and the market and toll of Titchfield produced 40*s.* The only recorded market in Oxfordshire was that of Bampton, which yielded 50*s.* to the King. There was no borough in Cornwall, but there were five market towns; St. German's had a market on Sundays, producing nothing because the market of the Count of Mortain was too near to it.[1] The count had taken away a market belonging to the monks of St. Michael at Launceston, which was formerly worth 20*s.*;[2] and there were markets at Bodmin, Liskeard, and Trematon.

New markets could be established only by the grant of the Crown. The market of Tewkesbury was thus created by Queen Matilda, probably when she was acting as the King's deputy during his absence in Normandy;[3] and in later years such a grant would not be made till after an *inquisitio ad quod damnum*—an inquiry to ascertain whether the proposed grant would injure another franchise.

[1] D. B., I. 120 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 120 b 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 163 b 1.

8. MISCELLANEOUS APPURTENANCES

Among the other appurtenances which are found recorded in connection with the manors were the salinæ, or salt-works, which were especially found on the sea-coast, where salt-pans have been used till quite recently. The Sussex salt-pans were almost as valuable as the mills. The inland salt-works were at Droitwich in Worcestershire, and Northwich and other "wiches" in Cheshire. Certain wells in these wiches were appurtenant to manors both within and without the counties in which they were situate; manors as far south as Rollright and Shipton-under-Wychwood in Oxfordshire, and Risborough in Bucks., had salt-pans or salt-workers in Droitwich; and salt-works in the same place were appurtenant to many manors in the western counties. To the manor of Bromsgrove were appurtenant thirteen salt-pans in Droitwich, and three salt-workers rendered for those pans 300 mittas of salt, and, T. R. E., they received 300 waggon-loads of wood from the woodwards.[1]

The customs of the Cheshire wiches are set out at great length, but are too technical for insertion in this place. Roughly speaking, the toll was only nominal when a lord fetched salt for his own use, but it was heavier if it was removed for sale or for the use of the villans. There was a special penalty if a horse was overladen so that its back was broken. But it is probable that this penalty was imposed, not so much with a view of punishing cruelty to animals, as to secure that no man should take away too much salt as a horse-load, as the toll was twopence a load.[2]

There are frequent records of quarries, of which the most valuable was that at Watone (Notts.), which produced millstones, and was worth 3 marks of silver a year.[3] In Derbyshire were "plumbaria" (lead-mines), and in Northamptonshire

[1] D. B., I. 172 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 268 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 290 b 1.

were "ferraria" (iron-works). There was a pottery ("ollaria") at Bladon (Oxon.), producing 10*s.* a year.[1]

In many places vineyards are recorded, and they are usually measured by the "arpent," a French unit of measurement. At Rayleigh there were 6 arpents of vineyard producing 20 modii of wine if the yield was good ("si bene procedit"). At Wilcote (Wilts.) the Commissioners enviously describe the "Ecclesia nova, et domus optima, et vinea bona"[2] —the new church, the excellent house, and the good vineyard. What more could man desire?

The Bishop of Bayeux received 40*s.* from the ferry at Grimsby,[3] and 10*s.* from the torveland at Thoresby.[4] Was this "torveland" land from which turves, or peat, could be cut for fuel?

[1] D. B., I. 156 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 69 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 343 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 342 b 2.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCH

IN our chapter on the Magnates we considered the position of the Churchmen who were great landlords; but we have yet to consider the position of the churches in the villages.

To some it may be matter of surprise that the Cambridgeshire jurors were not asked any questions about these village churches; but a little consideration will show the reason for this omission. The aim of the inquiry was to ascertain how each property was assessed to the geld, and whether it was rightly assessed; but a church could not be the same source of profit to a manor as was the mill or the meadow, and for that reason its existence was not a matter of inquiry. Possibly some of the churches and their property were entirely exempt from the geld, and 1 hide that gelded is contrasted with one that belonged to the church at Betone (Glos.).[1]

An examination of Domesday Book will show that the inclusion or omission of the churches depended on the view that the Commissioners took of the scope of the inquiry. The Commissioners who visited Norfolk and Suffolk evidently considered that it was necessary to record all the churches, to the number of 243 in the former and 364 in the latter county; but the Essex Commissioners thought otherwise, for in that county only thirteen churches are recorded. In the south-western counties the churches are generally omitted,

[1] D. B., I. 170 b 1.

PRE-NORMAN TOWER
(ST. MICHAEL'S, OXFORD)

unless there is some special reason for their inclusion. The only churches mentioned by the Oxfordshire Commissioners are the city churches of St. Mary the Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Michael; they also mention the priest of Great Milton and the Canons of St. Frideswide. Very many churches can be found in many parts of the country which show traces of pre-Conquest masonry and yet are not mentioned in Domesday Book, and there is documentary evidence of the existence of various pre-Conquest and very early Norman churches which have also escaped enumeration.

In the following pages an assumption will be made that where a priest was recorded there was also a church in which he ministered; and, conversely, where a church is recorded there was a priest in charge. A church without a priest is recorded at Locton,[1] evidently as being an unusual occurrence.

But this assumption must be qualified in two ways. A priest might have an assistant; at Bosworth (Leics.) there were a priest and a deacon;[2] or the church might be collegiate, as at Memberfield (Salop.).

"The church of this manor is in honour of St. Gregory; T. R. E. it held eight hides, and eight canons served there. Now (1086) St. Peter in the city (Shrewsbury) holds this church with 5 hides."[3]

There were two collegiate churches at Derby, with six and seven clerks respectively,[4] and at Wissett (Suffolk) there was a church in which were twelve monks, and under it one chapel.[5]

It will be noticed that we have spoken of "village," not "parish churches," the reason being that it is uncertain how far the parochial system had been developed in 1086. In the first place, it is not certain that there was a church in every vill; it is absolutely certain that there was not a church in every manor. In the hundred of Binsted (Sussex) there

[1] Yorks.: D. B., I. 305 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 233 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 253 a 1. [4] *Id.*, I. 280 a 2. [5] *Id.*, II. 293.

were eleven named vills; churches were recorded in seven of these—Felpham, Walberton, Barnham, Middleton, Stoke, Slindon, and Eastergate, and there was a church in an unnamed manor, possibly Yapton;[1] but there were no recorded churches in Binsted, Tortington, Bilsham, or Offham. Sir Henry Ellis indexes twenty-one references to churches of manors, and only eight to churches of vills; but in some of these cases it is clear that the manor and the vill were coterminous. Although the absence of recorded churches in a whole county or a whole hundred is no evidence of the entire absence of the churches, yet it is probably different when we find records of churches in the majority of vills in a hundred. In the latter case it may be argued that the jurors felt it to be their duty to make a return of the existing churches, and that where no church is recorded in such hundreds, none existed.

By a "parish church" we mean, in this twentieth century, the church to which the inhabitants of a certain district, called "the parish," resort for public worship and for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and to the minister of which they pay some or all of their tithes. Approaches towards this system are found in Domesday Book; it is a cause of complaint that Nigel, a serjeant of Count Robert of Mortain, had taken away twelve sokemen, who, although they lived in Cambas, used to be "parishioners" (*parochiani*) in the church of Stow, and had placed them in the church of Cambas.[2] At Thorney there was a dispute between the King and Hugh of Montfort—

"T. R. E. the church of Thorney held one carucate of free land: but Hugh has 23 acres of this carucate, and claims that they belong to a certain chapel, which four brothers, freemen of his, have built on their own land close to the cemetery of the mother church; and they were inhabitants (*manentes*) of the parish of the mother church which could not take the whole parish. This mother church has the

[1] *V. C. H.*, *Sussex*, i. 433. [2] D. B., II. 291 b.

moiety of the sepulture from all time, and it had by purchase the fourth part of the other alms when they happened. And whether this chapel was dedicated or not, the hundred does not know."[1]

Here, then, we have the district assigned to the mother church at Thorney called a "parish," and the persons assigned to the church at Stow called "parishioners;" moreover, the erection of the chapel at Thorney did not deprive the mother church of all its fees, and the abstraction of parishioners from the church at Stow was wrong, evidently because the church was thereby deprived of fees. That it was possible to move persons from one parish to another shows that the parochial system had not crystallized into its present form; that an outcry was raised at its being done shows that the crystallizing process had begun. Earl Roger gave to his new abbey at Shrewsbury the church of St. Peter, "where was the parish of the City,"[2]—another instance of the use of the word "parish."

Other cases of mother churches with dependent churches or chapels can be found—

"Richer, the clerk, holds the church of this manor (Stoneham, Hants) with two other churches near Southampton, which pertain to this mother church, and to it pertain one hide of land and all the tithes of the same vill, and also of the King's land."[3]

With this must be compared the record at Mottisfont, on the next page—

"Archbishop Thomas (of York) holds one church and six chapels, with all the dues of the living and dead."[4]

Again, at Thetford there was a church of St. Mary, to which belonged the churches of St. Peter, St. John, St. Martin, and St. Margaret;[5] and at Dartford (Kent), in addition to the church, there were three little churches ("ecclesiolæ").[6]

[1] D. B., II. 281 b. [2] *Id.*, I. 252 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 41 b 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 42 a. [5] *Id.*, II. 118 b. [6] *Id.*, I. 2 b 1.

In all these cases the mother church is distinguished from its dependent churches, and received at Stoneham all the tithes, and at Mottisfont all the dues.

Possibly, too, we see in the Thorney case signs of the future custom, that when a district church is erected to relieve the mother church, the endowments of the latter are divided. Hugh of Montfort was claiming that, as his men had erected a chapel to relieve the mother church, 23 acres of the glebe of the latter should go to endow the new chapel. On the other hand, the Derbyshire

> "jurors say of Stori, the predecessor of Walter of Douai, that without any one's licence, he could build for himself a church on his own land and in his own soke, and could send his tithes where he would." [1]

This liberty to build a church may be exceptional, but, at all events, it is a sign that the parochial system was not then so rigid as it is to-day.

Most of the village churches in Domesday Book were possessed of property in the shape of glebe, tithes, and dues; a landless church is a rarity. The holdings of the priest by way of glebe are recorded in fifteen vills in Middlesex, and varied from 1 hide at Harrow and Coleham, to half a virgate at Sunbury, Shepperton, and Kensington. The acreage of the glebe of the Norfolk and Suffolk churches is usually given, and occasionally we find that the church had only 5 acres of glebe.[2]

Churches in towns were also endowed. In Norwich, the church of St. Simon and St. Jude was endowed in 1066 with three parts of a mill, half an acre of meadow, and one house in Norwich;[3] and the church of St. Michael, with 112 acres of land and 6 acres of meadow on which one team was employed.[4] The church of St. Gregory at Sudbury had 50 acres

[1] D. B., I. 280 a 2.
[2] Norton: D. B., II. 209 b.
[3] *Id.*, II. 117 b.
[4] *Id.*, II. 116 b.

BOSHAM CHURCH

(FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY)

of arable land, 25 acres of meadow, and a mill, and its glebe was stocked with two horses, seventeen cattle, fifty-three pigs, and one hundred sheep.[1] The best endowed church mentioned in Domesday Book, one which almost rivalled the smaller monasteries in its wealth, was the collegiate church of Bosham, which in 1066 was possessed of 112 hides; after the Conquest it lost 47 hides, but even after this reduction it was worth £16 10*s.* a year.[2]

In speaking of the glebe land, we must bear in mind that the priests were often coupled with the villans rather than with the freeholders or sokemen, thus incidentally corroborating our contention that the villan was a freeman in the eyes of the law. The Cambridgeshire Inquest states that at Kennet there were a priest and six villans, but the parallel passage in the Exchequer Domesday speaks of seven villans, and omits all reference to the priest; hence it would appear that the priest was obliged to join with the villans in providing the manorial team of eight oxen. Occasionally, however, we find priests having tenants under them; at Bakewell (Derby) there were two priests and a church, and under them two villans and five bordars.[3]

This glebe land was not always the gift of one person. At Tuddenham (Norfolk) "the church holds 60 acres of the gift of very many (*plurimorum*);"[4] and "at the church (of Slinford) lay 30 acres which the neighbours have given in alms."[5] Frequently, however, he who built the church also endowed it: "In the hundred of Humiliart, Colebern (who is called in the rubric Colebern the priest) built a church by the grant of the King, and if the King will allow, he will give it 20 acres, and for it will sing for the King a mass and a psalter every week."[6] There are not a few records of this type, but they would appear to be chantries rather than parish churches.

[1] D. B., II. 286 b.
[2] *Id.*, I. 17 a 2.
[3] *V. C. H.*, *Derby*, i. 368.
[4] D. B., II. 189 b.
[5] D. B., II. 24 b.
[6] *Id.*, II. 263 b.

But, like Waltham Abbey, some churches lost their lands after the Conquest. T. R. E. half a hide at Benfleet had been given to a church in another manor, but after Benfleet came into the hands of King William, this hide was taken away from the church, and in 1086 it again belonged to Benfleet;[1] and Swegen, after he ceased to be sheriff, took away from the church at Hatfield Broad Oak 1 hide and 30 acres which had previously belonged to it.[2]

Compared with the number of notices of glebe belonging to village churches, the notices of tithes so belonging are few. The case of Stoneham, already referred to, shows that here we have a case of a village church receiving all the tithes of a vill. A similar case is found at Carlton (Lincs.), where the wapentake testified that the tithe and other dues of Carlton lay in the church of the same vill.[3] The tithe of the manor is mentioned at Wallop (Hants.)—

"There is a church to which pertains one hide and the moiety of the tithe of the manor and all the Church-shot, and 46*d.* of the tithe of the villans and a moiety of the acres. There is also a little church to which pertain eight acres of the tithes."[4]

The distinction between the tithe of the manor and the tithe of the villans would appear to indicate that the tithe of the demesne is meant by the former term; and the statement that 8 acres of the tithe belonged to the little church will cause no difficulty to those who remember that the tithe was paid in kind, and that one out of every ten scattered acre strips belonging to a single owner would be set apart for the tithe, in which case the little church would take eight of such reserved strips.[5]

Many of the passages relating to tithes refer to those which had passed into the possession of some monastery—

[1] D. B., II. 1. [2] *Id.*, II. 2 b. [3] *Id.*, I. 377 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 38 b 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 44 a 2.

CHURCH AT GREENSTEAD, ESSEX

"St. Mary of Cormeilles holds the church of this manor (of Linton), and the priest with all his land, and all the tithe, and one villan with one virgate of land." [1]

"The Abbess of Lire has six churches in the Isle of Wight to which pertain 2H $2\frac{1}{2}$V . . . They have the tithe of all the King's rents." [2]

"The tithe and church of this manor (Fecchenham, Herefds.) and the priest with two virgates of land and one villan, Earl William gave to the church of St. Mary." [3]

"The church of St. Michael in the Mount holds one church with one hide and the tithe of the manor of Basingstoke." [4]

We are all familiar with the system of appropriations, by which a monastery became possessed of a village church and its endowment, and, taking the latter for itself, paid thereout a chaplain, or allowed him to take part of the tithes. Till the foundation of perpetual vicarages towards the end of the twelfth century, such chaplain was removable at the will of the monastery. This system is frequently referred to or implied in Domesday Book. All the four cases mentioned above are cases of appropriations. St. Peter of Shrewsbury had obtained many churches on the rural estates of Earl Roger; [5] the church of St. Vandrille had the churches of Bridetone, Bridport, Whitchurch, and Gillingham, and one of the churches at Wareham; [6] Westminster Abbey received £8 from the King's tithe at Droitwich; [7] and examples could be multiplied.

One point more requires to be noticed in connection with the tithes. Stori was at liberty "to send his tithes where he would;" [8] and it is not improbable that others had the same liberty, for the "arbitrary consecration of tithes" was not forbidden till the Lateran Council of 1179–80; till then many persons were at liberty to pay their tithes to what church they pleased. The gifts to Lewes Priory during the century that

[1] D. B., I. 179 b 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 52 b 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 180 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, 43 a 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 253 a 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 78 b 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 174 b 1. [8] *Id.*, I. 280 a 2.

followed Domesday Book comprise many gifts of tithes of small pieces of land—of a virgate, and so on. The Chartulary of Burton Abbey shows that when the monks granted lands on lease, they often bargained that the tithes from the other lands of the lessees should be paid to them;[1] and in 1075 William of Braiose gave to the church of St. Nicholas of Bramber 6 hides of land, and the tithes of Erringham, Southwick, Shoreham, and some sixteen other places in the valley of the Adur, and the tithes of the toll of Steyning and of Bramber Castle.[2]

A third source of the income of the village priests was the dues—"the customary payments of the living and the dead," as they were called at Mottisfont; and of these the most important were the dues known as "sepulture" and "church-shot."

Of sixteen estates in the neighbourhood of Taunton it is recorded that "when the lords of these lands die, they are buried at Taunton;"[3] and sepulture was a due paid to the mother church at Thorney and also at Bishamton (Worcs.).[4] Evidently by this word is meant a due payable to the church for burial in the churchyard. Nowadays the burial authorities are anxious to discourage burials in their burial-grounds, and charge heavier fees to non-parishioners, so that the burial-ground may be kept for the use of the parish for which it is provided. In the eleventh century the cases of Taunton and Thorney show that the authorities kept a keen watch that the church to which a man belonged should not be defrauded of its fees by his burial elsewhere; evidently these fees were valuable, and the monastic chartularies show their value. In 1088 Ramsey Abbey granted a lease of its manor of Over, and stipulated that when the lessee died he should be buried at Ramsey, and a payment made to the abbey of 100*s.*, or a mark of gold.[5] In the earliest lease in the Domesday of St.

[1] *E. H. R.*, 1905, p. 282.
[2] Cal. Doc., France, 405.
[3] D. B., I. 87 b 1.
[4] D. B., I. 173 a 1.
[5] *Ramsey Chart.*, i. 120.

Paul's, dated 1114, is a reservation that when either of the lessees died he should give his body and 20*s.* to St. Paul's; and the Burton Chartulary shows that in many of its leases the abbey stipulated that the lessee should be buried at Burton, and that a heavy payment should be made to the abbey at the same time.[1]

"Church-shot" is more frequently mentioned in Domesday Book than "sepulture;" and from a letter of Cnut, dated 1031, and quoted by Kemble,[2] it would appear to be a gift of first-fruits to the church. Sixteen estates paid their church-shot to Taunton;[3] the church of Abbotsbury had three church-shot by custom from Wadone;[4] the Bishop of Worcester had 8*d.* a year for church-shot, and recognition from Lapworth[5] (recognition was a payment to a lord in acknowledgment of a tenancy); and Vitalis the priest, who had the church of Hurstbourne, received a church-shot of 14*s.*[6] The Abbey of Pershore was entitled to church-shot from three of the hundreds of Worcestershire, and in respect of this due received at Martinmas a seam of corn from every freeman ("francus homo") who occupied a hide or more; if it were not paid on the appointed day, the defaulter paid twelve loads. The Abbot of Pershore received an additional forfeiture from his hundred; from the other two hundreds he received the multifold payment, but the Abbots of Westminster and Evesham and the other owners had the forfeiture which accrued from their lands.[7] The Bishop of Worcester was entitled to a seam of corn at Martinmas, from every hide, free or villan, which belonged to the church of Worcester.[8] A similar payment, which, however, was not called church-shot, was made to the church of Aylesbury by the sokemen of the "eight hundreds in the circuit of Aylesbury;" and previous

[1] *E. H. R.*, 1905, p. 279.
[2] *Saxons in England*, II. App. D.
[3] D. B., I. 87 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 79 a 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 174 a 1.
[6] *Id.*, I. 39 a 2.
[7] *Id.*, I. 175 b 1. See *D. B. and B.*, 290.
[8] *Id.*, I. 174 a 1.

to the arrival of King William, this church also received from every sokeman 1 acre of annona, or 4*d.*[1]

But in Oxfordshire a distinction is drawn between the church-shot and the annona, which latter term probably refers to this payment of 1 acre of corn from every sokeman. At Benson the church-shot was 11*s.*, and the annona of one year was £30; at Headington, the church-shot was 10*s.* 6*d.*, and the annona was £8. And in the same way as the annona at Aylesbury was due from eight hundreds, so, with all the Oxfordshire manors to which annona was due, was associated the soke of a certain number of hundreds; thus—

Benson	Annona	£30	Soke of	$4\frac{1}{2}$	hundreds
Headington	„	£8	„	2	„
Kirtlington	„	£20	„	$2\frac{1}{2}$	„
Upton	„	£2	„	3	„
Shipton-under-Wychwood	„	£15	„	2	„
Bampton	„	£15	„	2	„
Bloxham and Adderbury [2]	„	£28 10*s.*	„	2	„

All of these were royal manors, and the King also received from the burgesses of Derby 12 thraves (*trabes*) of annona at Martinmas, out of which the Abbot of Burton received 40 sheaves.[3] We have already seen that among the rents of the shrievalty of Wiltshire, Edward of Salisbury received 142 acres of annona—a due which reminds us of the gift of 1 acre of annona to the church at Aylesbury by every sokeman.

Why the annona should in some places, as at Aylesbury, be paid to the church, and in others, as Oxfordshire, be paid to the King, or, as in Wiltshire, to the sheriff, is to me an insoluble difficulty. Two explanations are possible: either it was an ecclesiastical due which had been occasionally diverted to the King; or it was a secular due, which in some cases had been granted by the King to the church. On *a priori* grounds

[1] D. B., I. 143 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 154 b. [3] *Id.*, I. 280 a 2.

the former is the better explanation; but possibly some ecclesiologist will solve the difficulty.

The patronage of the churches is never referred to under that name, but mention is made of the benefice of St. Peter in Oxford. There are, however, certain passages in the Norfolk and Suffolk Domesdays which cannot be understood unless they refer to the right of presentation. On one and the same page are the three following entries:—

"In Ringesfeld the King has a part of the church with 20 acres (of glebe); others there participate.

"In Weston is a church which is held by the King's freemen.

"In Worlingham there were two churches of 40 acres, which are worth 6*s.*; others there participate. Of one of these churches Robert de Vaux holds the moiety, with 30 acres and one bordar."[1]

At Norwich twelve burgesses held the church of the Holy Trinity, T. R. E.—a phrase that can only mean that they had the joint right of appointing a priest to that church; but after the Conquest, King William took away their right of presentation, and gave it to the Bishop of Thetford.[2] Joint patronage is sometimes shown by the statement that the landowner, whose estates are under consideration, had only a fractional interest in the church. At Scotessa, sixteen freemen commended to Gurth had, T. R. E., the fourth part of the church.[3] Such right of patronage might be sold. The sale is recorded of two churches at Hertford by Ulwi of Hatfield to Peter of Valonges.[4]

There are indications in Domesday Book that in some cases the fines for offences against the moral law went to the dignitaries of the Church. In Kent and at Lewes the King had the fine from the man who committed adultery, and the archbishop that from the woman; except that, if this offence was committed on the lands of the Abbeys of the Holy

[1] D. B., II. 283.
[2] *Id.*, II. 116 b.
[3] *Id.*, II. 211.
[4] *Id.*, I. 132 a 1.

Trinity and St. Augustine at Canterbury, and St. Martin at Dover, the churches received the fines.[1] At Chester the bishop received the fines inflicted on those who were guilty of sabbath-breaking—8*s.* from a freeman, 4*s.* from a woman, a slave, or a foreign merchant.[2]

Of the social position of the village clergy we naturally have no direct information. Possibly the fact that they are so often coupled with the villans may indicate that many of them were of humble origin; and, except in the richer appointments, there is no reason to think that the English priests were supplanted by foreigners. Orderic Vitalis tells us that he was the son of a foreign priest who came over with Roger Montgomery, but that he was baptized by one English priest and educated by another. The names of several village priests, recorded in Domesday Book, show their English birth. Ældred the priest held 3 hides at Amberley;[3] and Acard the priest held 2 virgates at Walberton.[4]

It will be remembered that Chaucer's "poore persoun of a toune" was brother to a ploughman; and if, as appears probable, there were many priests who resembled him in this respect three centuries previously, we may also hope that there were many who resembled him in his teaching—

> "But Christes lore, and his Apostles twelve,
> He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve."

[1] D. B., I. 1 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 263 a 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 17 a 1.

[4] *Id.*, I. 25 a 1. Incidentally, Domesday Book refers to the sons of bishops and priests, showing that the rules enjoining celibacy on the clergy were laxly administered. Reinbald, the son of Peter the bishop, held a house at Reading. (*Id.*, I. 58 a 1.)

CHAPTER X

THE WELSHMEN

IN the counties bordering on Wales—Gloucester, Hereford, Salop., and Cheshire—there are frequent notices of Welshmen who are recorded separately from the villans and freemen. Although they formed part of a conquered race, yet their English and Norman conquerors allowed them, or some of them, the enjoyment of their own peculiar customs, both economic and legal. In the Castellary of Carleon there were "three Welshmen living under the Welsh law." [1]

Harold, when he was Earl of Hereford, was frequently engaged in raiding Wales. Towards the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor he had made two important conquests, the first in Archinfield, the district to the south of the upper Wye, between the Worm and the Dove, the modern hundred of Webtree, and the other in Gwent, the district lying between the lower reaches of the Wye and the Usk. These were annexed to the earldom of Hereford, and after the Conquest passed to William fitz Osbern, and at his death to his son Roger. But after the rebellion of the latter, and his consequent forfeiture, these lands fell to the King, who annexed Gwent to Gloucestershire, and Archinfield to Herefordshire. Hugh, Earl of Chester, was frequently engaged in warfare with the Welsh, and had annexed to Cheshire much of the country that is now comprised in the counties of Flint and Denbigh.[2]

[1] D. B., I. 185 b 1.

[2] *Norman Conquest*, ii. App. SS.

These recently conquered districts were not hidated, and were therefore free from geld. The King's men in Archinfield were distinctly stated to pay no geld.[1] At Copleford (Herefds.), 5 English hides that gelded are contrasted with 3 Welsh hides paying 6*s.* a year.[2] In Gwent there was a twofold division of the land; some of it was divided into vills which were grouped under a prepositus. Thus—

"Under Waswic, the prepositus, are 13 vills; under Elmvi are 14 vills, under Blei 13 vills, and under Idhel 14 vills. These render 47 sextars of honey, 40 pigs, 41 cows, and 28*s.* for the hawks. Under the same prepositi are four vills wasted by King Caradoch."[3]

Mr. Seebohm has quoted the ancient laws of Wales to show how thirteen trevs (Lat. *villæ*) belonging to freeborn Welshmen used to be grouped under a maer (Lat. *prepositus*), and that from each of these groups was rendered to the King or chief a *gwesta*, or food rent, which in Gwent formerly consisted of "a horse-load of wheat-flour, an ox, seven sheaves of oats, a vat of honey, and 24 pence of silver."[4] The ancient food rent had evidently been altered before 1086, but it would otherwise appear that the freeborn Welsh had retained their peculiar organization after the Conquest.

Similarly, some of the unfree Welsh retained their organization—

"Alfred of Spain has in Wales 7 vills which were in the demesne of Earl William and Roger his son: these render 6 sextars of honey, 6 pigs, and 10*s.*"[5]

The same ancient laws show that seven trevs, inhabited by the unfree Welsh, were grouped under a maer, and that each of these likewise paid a food rent.

Alongside these groups of vills, in Gwent there were single vills belonging to different persons—

[1] D. B., I. 185 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 181 b 2. [3] *Id.*, I. 162 a 1.
[4] *E. V. C.*, 207, 195. [5] D. B., I. 162 a 2.

"Bardic, the King's juggler, has 3 vills, and in them are five teams rendering nothing.

"Morin has one vill, Chenesis 1, the son of Waswic 1, Sessibert 1, Abraham the priest 2 vills: these have six teams, and render nothing." [1]

"In the King's alms is one vill which for his soul renders to the Church at Michaelmas, two pigs, and 100 loaves of bread with beer." [2]

But if to these ten vills we add the four wasted by King Caradoch, we have another group of fourteen vills similar to the groups mentioned above.

It would here be out of place to enter into a description of the Welsh tribal system, which differs entirely from the system which was to be found to the east of the Wye. Suffice it to say, that while the inhabitants of each trev united for the common ploughing of their own land, there was no demesne land in the trev to be cultivated by the common plough. The threefold render of week-work, boon-work, and gafol was unknown to the Welsh. The gwesta, or food rent, was the sole return, except military service and some quasi-feudal incidents, which they made for their lands.[3]

While some of the land in Gwent was divided into vills, other was divided into carucates.

"Walter, the crossbowman, holds of the King two carucates of land, and has there 3 teams and 3 male and 3 female slaves. This is worth 20*s*." [4]

And the land that Earl William gave to Ralph of Limesi was stated to be "50 carucates of land as it is in Normandy."

In Archinfield, too, the food rent was very prominent. The King had there ninety-six men, who, with their men, had seventy-three teams, and were accustomed to give 41 sextars of honey and 20*s*. for the sheep which they used to give, and 10*s*. for smoke-money ("fumagium").[5] Honey was rendered

[1] D. B., I. 162 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 162 a 2.
[3] *E. V. C.*, 195. [4] D. B., I. 162 a 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 181 a 1.

by six out of the nine other vills in Archinfield, and two provided the King with sheep.

In the hundred of Atiscros, which was annexed to Chester, the area of the lands belonging to Rhuddlan, Englefield, and Bishopstrev is expressed in terms of teamlands, and these lands are stated to have never paid geld; but other parts of the same hundred were hidated. Food rents here are conspicuous by their absence, except in one case.

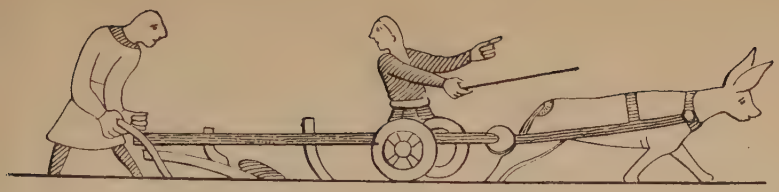
"In the same hundred of Atiscros, King Griffin had a manor called Bishopstrev, and had one team in demesne, and his men had 6 teams: when the King himself came there, each team rendered to him 200 capons, and a cask full of beer, and a rusk of butter." [1]

The pre-Conquest customs of the men of Archinfield are set out at great length, but are too long for insertion here. The most noteworthy point among them is the sanction given to the primitive custom of private feuds.

"If a Welshman killed a Welshman, the relatives of the dead man gather, and harry the murderer and his neighbours, and burn their houses, until on the morrow about midday the body of the dead man is buried. Of this booty, the King has the third part, but they have all the rest." [2]

[1] D. B., I. 269 a 1.

[2] *Id.*, I. 179 a 2.



CHAPTER XI

THE STOCK.—ELEVENTH-CENTURY FARMING

ALTHOUGH no specific question on the point was put to the Cambridgeshire jurors, the Cambridgeshire Inquest shows that they made returns of the stock on the demesne of the manor they were describing. Thus on the demesne of the manor of Kennet, Nicholas had five teams, eight head of "otiose" (non-ploughing) cattle, four horses ("runcini"), ten pigs, and 480 sheep. Similar details are contained in the second volume of Domesday Book for the three eastern counties, and in the Exeter Domesday for certain estates in the south-western counties. Open the Essex Domesday at hazard. On Count Eustace's estate at Tey, he had, in 1086, two teams in demesne, and his men had four teams; 160 pigs could be fed in the wood, and the meadow was 20 acres in extent. Besides his teams, he had three horses, seven oxen, sixty-eight pigs, eighty sheep, and thirty-four goats.[1] But the record says nothing about the stock belonging to his tenants.

We have seen that the area of an estate is expressed by the number of teams it employed. Let us therefore take as examples the first estates, with three teams each in demesne, in the eight counties for which the statistics of stock are given—

[1] D. B., II. 29 b.

	Teams in demesne.	Horses.	Oxen.	Pigs.	Sheep.	Goats.
Witham (Essex)[1]	3	4	24	136	102	—
Folsham (Norfolk)[2]	3	2	12	50	60	50
Mutford (Suffolk)[3]	3	2	7	30	160	50
Portland (Dorset)[4]	3	3	14	27	900	—
Perrot (Somerset)[5]	3	—	4	—	100	—
Tawton (Devon)[6]	3	—	10	—	90	—
Helston (Cornwall)[7]	3	16[9]	17	—	200	—
Chippenham (Cambs.)[8] ...	3	3	14	9	285	—

In all these counties, except Cambridgeshire, the King owned the manors which have been taken as examples; but in some cases we find the stock recorded on small estates on which there was only one team in demesne.

	Teams in demesne.	Horses.	Oxen.	Pigs.	Sheep.	Goats.
Essex—						
Lachentun[10]	1	—	6	16	60	—
Edburgeton[11]	1	—	4	30	100	—
Horndon[12]	1	1	1	1	30	—
Tendring[13]	1	1	6	4	10	4
Norfolk—						
Paggrave[14]	1	—	2	12	36	—
Rising[15]	1	1	7	20	—	30
Reedham[16]	1	—	6	6	20	—
Suffolk—						
Beleham[17]	1	2	8	40	105	—
Suestlingua[18]	1	1	2	10	15	—
Culford[19]	1	—	1	2	85	—
Southwold[20]	1	1	4	3	30	—

From our first table we deduce an average of ten pigs and seventy-nine sheep for every team employed on the

[1] D. B., II. 2. [2] *Id.*, 114. [3] *Id.*, 283. [4] *Id.*, IV. 27.
[5] *Id.*, IV. 80. [6] *Id.*, IV. 75. [7] *Id.*, IV. 93. [8] *I. C. C.*, 2.
[9] Including fourteen unbroken mares.
[10] D. B., II. 8. [11] *Id.*, II. 28. [12] *Id.*, II. 93. [13] *Id.*, II. 95.
[14] *Id.*, II. 119 b. [15] *Id.*, II. 167. [16] *Id.*, II. 216. [17] *Id.*, 336 b.
[18] *Id.*, 345. [19] *Id.*, II. 364. [20] *Id.*, II. 371 b.

demesne ; the second table shows an average of thirteen pigs and forty-six sheep ; and both tables show that even in the eleventh century England was pre-eminently a sheep-farming country. To these should be added one horse, four oxen that did not plough, and four goats, for every team.

But we must remember that the animals of the eleventh century were much inferior in quality to those of the present day. Professor Thorold Rogers tells us that in the fourteenth century an ox weighed about 400 lbs.[1] The weight of a fleece was then about 1½ lb., while the unimproved fleece of an eighteenth-century sheep weighed about 5 lbs., and he argues that the fourteenth-century wether weighed under 40 lbs.[2] His averages show that about 5 lbs. of lard were derived from an ordinary pig ;[3] to-day a pig of 200 lbs. will produce 10 lbs. of lard, so that a fourteenth-century pig would weigh about 100 lbs. In all probability there had been some improvement in the breeds of stock in the interval between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, and some deduction must therefore be made from these figures if we wish to know the quantity of meat on the animals of the eleventh century. For the purpose of comparison, it may be useful to add the average weights of stock sold in Woodstock market to-day. The ordinary bullock weighs about 680 lbs. ; the Oxford Down teg, about 80 lbs. ; and the ordinary bacon pig, about 200 lbs.

Stock-keeping in the eleventh century was a very different business from present-day practice. Then there were no root crops and no artificial grasses, and therefore, in view of the absence of all kinds of winter keep, except the hay that was grown on a very restricted area of meadow, and the great value of the latter article, a proportion of the stock on any farm would be killed about Martinmas and salted down for winter use. The horses, the oxen and cows, the ewes and

[1] *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, 77.
[2] *Id.*, 80. [3] *Id.*, 83.

the sows would be kept at any cost, but the stock for which there was no keep would be killed before the winter began. Beef, however, would be so expensive an article of diet, that its use must have been restricted to the tables of the rich; but of salted mutton and bacon the villagers probably had good store; bacon would appear to have been the standard dish for all classes except the magnates. In later years it certainly formed the staple diet for soldiers. When Henry II. was waging war in Wales in 1157, he paid £52 for 500 bacon-pigs and their carriage from London into Wales.[1] And when Richard I., in the first year of his reign, provisioned Carmarthen Castle, he bought 180 bacon-pigs for £18.[2]

The peasants must also have been engaged in *la petite culture*. The later manorial extents mention frequent payments of hens and eggs to the lords of the manors. The rents of the shrievalty of Wiltshire included 480 hens, 1600 eggs, and 16 sextars of honey;[3] and the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum shows the gebur rendering two hens at Martinmas to his lord.[4] Hives of bees are frequently mentioned in the statistics for the eastern counties, and the products of the hives were most valuable. In the absence of sugar, honey was the only available source of sweetness. The wax was used for candles both in the churches and in the houses of the great, and mead was made from the droppings of the comb. We have spoken of the cheeses produced from the dairies and sheepfolds. In the thirteenth century Walter of Henley calculated that a gallon of butter and a wey of cheese should be produced every week between April and October by two cows or twenty ewes in salt-marshes, or by three cows or thirty ewes fed on ordinary pasture or fallow.[5]

If now we pass to the cultivation of the land, we find that Domesday Book speaks of wheat ("frumentum," or

[1] Pipe Roll, 4 Hen. II., p. 112.
[2] *Id.*, 1 Rich. I., p. 163.
[3] D. B., I. 69 a 1.
[4] L. 446.
[5] Walter of Henley, 27.

AUGUST. MOWING

"annona"), barley ("ordeum"), rye ("siligo"), oats ("avenæ"), and peas ("pisæ"); malt ("braseum") is also frequently mentioned, but the grain from which the malt was made is never specified. Of the work of the farm nothing is naturally said. Our record merely mentions the operations of ploughing

("arare"), harrowing ("herciare"), reaping ("sarclare"), and mowing ("falcare"). If further information is desired, it must be sought from the text-books of a later age, but their teaching must always be qualified by the actual experience of bailiffs' accounts and manorial extents. Of the writers of these agricultural text-books, Walter of Henley is the best known, and his book was written in the thirteenth century, almost two centuries after Domesday Book. From his description of the usual work we can conjure up the scene before our eyes. If the manor was cultivated on the three-field system, a three-year rotation of crops would be followed —wheat, barley or oats, and fallow. After the wheat crop had been reaped, the land would lie fallow till the next spring, and would then be ploughed once and sown with barley or oats. After this crop had been harvested, the land would lie fallow till the following April, when it would be ploughed once. A second ploughing would follow about St. John's Day (May 6); and the field would be ploughed a third time after the crops on the other fields had been harvested, and sown with wheat before the winter began. All three fields would lie open for pasture between harvest and the next seed-time. The farmer's calendar in the thirteenth century would therefore be as follows:—

October: Plough the first field.
November: Sow the first field with wheat.
February: Plough the second field.
March: Sow the second field with barley or oats.
April: Plough the third field for the first time.
May: Fence the meadows against cattle. Plough the third field for the second time.
July: Mow the hay in the meadows.
August: Throw open the meadows for cattle.
August and September: Cut the corn on the first and second fields.

In the next year the third field would be sown with wheat, the first with barley, and the second would lie fallow.

Such is the ideal set before the progressive farmer by Walter of Henley. But in the same way as to-day few farmers live up to the ideals of the twentieth-century text-books, so it is probable that our author's ideals were rarely carried out in practice, especially when he says that the fallow ought to be ploughed three times before the wheat was sown. If this were done, there would be some villages with scarcely any pasture for the cattle. Mr. Seebohm's map of Hitchin, and the bye-laws for that manor, show that, except for a few acres of green common, the only pasture for the cattle and sheep was to be found on the arable fields "from the time when the corn is cut and carried till the same be sown again with corn, and during the whole of the fallow season."[1] So that if the fallow was ploughed before the crops on the other fields had been cut and carried, the poor sheep would have had to pick up what sustenance they could find on the bare soil. It is not difficult to find in Domesday Book vills with no recorded meadow or pasture. I can count eight of such vills in Oxfordshire, and in these eight vills the only pasture for the stock must have been found on the arable fields between harvest and seed-time.

[1] *E. V. C.*, 450.

APRIL. FEASTING

Those who are accustomed to see the corn reaped by machinery, and the stubble cut down as short as possible, cannot understand how the cattle could find sufficient food on the fields after the corn had been cut. But till the end of the eighteenth and far on into the nineteenth century corn

was reaped with a sickle, and the stubble was left standing some 18 inches or 2 feet high. Then, again, the land was not so clean as it is to-day, and the weeds grew in profusion. Possibly the exuberant growth of these weeds, many of which are of a poisonous nature, may account for the mortality among the lambs, which is such a feature of mediæval manorial accounts. And old men, who have heard from their fathers how the land was tilled before the Enclosure Acts, tell that in the low-lying fields, where the ridges were very high and the furrows very deep, the higher part only of the ridges would be ploughed, and the lower parts adjoining the furrows would be left in natural grass.

In speaking of the "carucate," or teamland, we said that the average area cultivated by one team in one year was 120 acres. Walter of Henley[1] fixes a higher average, and considers the carucate to be equal to 160 acres in a two-field manor, and 180 acres in a three-field manor. But his figures have been severely criticized by Professor Maitland,[2] and it seems probable that in this, as in other matters, he set up a standard which was unattainable in actual practice.

After all this ploughing, and after the land had been harrowed and weeded and reaped, what crop rewarded the

[1] Page 9. [2] *D. B. and B.*, 398.

farmer? Walter of Henley tells us that unless the yield was more than 6 bushels to the acre, the farmer would lose $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ and the rent of his land. The anonymous writer on Husbandry, whose treatise is published in the same volume as that of Walter of Henley, tells us that barley should yield to the eighth grain, wheat to the fifth, and oats to the fourth, and that the seed for an acre should be, of wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel, and of barley and oats 4 bushels.[1] The bailiffs' accounts show that this estimate of the seed for the barley and oats was correct, but tell very different tales as to the produce. Professor Thorold Rogers has printed tables showing the seed sown and the crops harvested on eleven estates belonging to Merton College, Oxford, in the three years 1334–5–6. They may be summarized as follows:—

	1334.		1335.		1336.		
	Seed.	Yield.	Seed.	Yield.	Seed.	Yield.	Per acre.
Wheat	2	9	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$11\frac{3}{4}$	3	$9\frac{1}{2}$	Bushels.
Barley	4	13	4	13	4	21	do.
Oats	3	8	4	11	4	14	do.

The best crop of wheat was that at Wolford, in 1335, of $15\frac{1}{2}$ bushels an acre; and the worst was about $3\frac{1}{4}$ bushels at Leatherhead, in 1336. For the five years 1243–8, the average return at Combe (Oxon.) was, for wheat 5 bushels per acre, for barley a little over 5 bushels, and for oats about 7 bushels per acre. Professor Maitland, in his calculations, has reckoned that in the eleventh century the average yield of grain was about 6 bushels per acre, leaving, after the deduction of the seed for next year, a balance of 4 bushels an acre available for food;[2] and although these figures have been criticized by Mr. Inman, the bailiffs' accounts that I have quoted and others that I have seen lead me to think

[1] Walter of Henley, 71.

[2] *D. B. and B.*, 438.

that if there is an error in these calculations, they are too favourable.

We have now to ask ourselves how many acres yielding 4 bushels to the acre will be required to furnish food to the households, recorded in Domesday Book? And, to answer this question, we must first ascertain what amount of corn would be required to feed one family during the year.

Archdeacon Hale gives figures relating to the diet of the Canons of St. Paul's during the first half of the thirteenth century. Each canon was allowed, weekly, twenty-one loaves, representing half a bushel of wheat, and 30 gallons of beer, representing $3\frac{3}{4}$ bushels of mixed grain; in other words, each canon received yearly in bread the equivalent of 26 bushels of wheat, and in beer the equivalent of 195 bushels of mixed grain. But their beer must have been very strong, as they brewed only 8 gallons from a bushel of grain, whereas the usual product of a bushel of barley to-day is about 20 gallons. Both the quantity and quality of their beer shows that this scale was that of the wealthy: it must not, therefore, be adopted as a standard.

The bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show the dietary of the labouring classes. At Cuxham, in 1316, the carter and four ploughmen received 1 quarter of mixed grain every ten weeks, *i.e.* $41\frac{3}{5}$ bushels of grain a year. The bailiff's accounts for the manor of Woodstock show that in 1242—

"Six servants at Handborough received 16 qrs. of wheat and 15 qrs. 1 bus. of barley; *i.e.* $41\frac{1}{2}$ bushels each.

"Two oxherds at Combe received 5 qrs. 1 bus. of wheat, 4 qrs. 2 bus. of barley, and 1 qr. of peas; *i.e.* $41\frac{1}{2}$ bushels each.

"Four servants at Bladon received 13 qrs. of wheat, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ qrs. of barley; *i.e.* 36 bushels each."

And the same quantity appears as the annual allowance to farm servants in later years. In 1274 the farm servants at

Bosham received slightly less than 41 bushels of barley each, and in 1288 the ploughmen and shepherds of Stoughton (Sussex) received 41½ bushels of barley each. The anonymous writer on Husbandry states that in his day (*temp.* Henry III.) the average annual allowance to a farm labourer was 1 quarter of corn every twelve weeks, *i.e.* about 36 bushels a year, while the dairyman received 1 quarter in fourteen weeks because of the advantage he received from the milk.[1] In 1211 arrangements were made for the endowment of a priest at Petersham, by which he was to receive 3 quarters of wheat and one each of barley and oats every year.[2] So that it would appear that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries 40 bushels of grain or thereabouts were considered ample to support a man and his family ; but out of this allowance the labourer had to provide himself with both bread and beer.

We have seen that Domesday Book enables us to draw a rough-and-ready distinction between the richer and the poorer classes. The tenants-in-chief and the mesne tenants may be fairly considered to have represented the richer classes in comparison with those whom we have styled the humbler folk. Sir Henry Ellis considers that there were about 1400 tenants-in-chief, and 7871 mesne tenants ; these would be the rich, and the remainder of the recorded men—some 260,000 families in round numbers—would represent the poorer classes south of Cheshire and Yorkshire. But it must be remembered that some of the tenants-in-chief were poor, and held very small areas of land.

If, then, we leave the richer classes out of consideration, and allow to each recorded member of the humbler classes 40 bushels of corn a year, we must allow him the produce of 10 acres of land each producing 4 bushels net a year. From the land he tilled, every tenant had to pay tithe to the priest, and certain dues to his lord and the King, which

[1] Walter of Henley, p. 75. [2] Cutts, *Parish Priest*, 115.

would require the produce of another 5 acres. It will be remembered that the gebur of the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum had to till 3 acres of his yardland for the benefit of his lord. So 3,900,000 acres would be required to provide a living for the 260,000 recorded families below the rank of tenants-in-chief and mesne tenants, south of Cheshire and Yorkshire.

But what would be required for the living of the richer classes? At first it would seem as if this were an unanswerable question: any attempt to estimate the number of retainers kept by any one of the magnates must be mere guess-work, and we must therefore approach the problem from another standpoint. Let us remember that the 260,000 families who required for their support and dues the produce of 3,900,000 acres annually, were the tenants, whose plough-teams were enumerated as the "carucæ hominum." If, then, it were possible to ascertain the proportion that the teams in demesne bore to the tenants' teams, it might be possible to ascertain the area cultivated by those teams. I have counted the teams belonging to the demesne and the teams of the tenants in three counties, as follows:—

	Demesne.	Tenants.
Oxford	809½	1625½
Middlesex	128	440½
Sussex	752½	2,386½
	1,690	4,452½

If this proportion could be relied on, there would be between two and a half and three teams belonging to the tenants for every team in demesne. A count of single hundreds in sixteen other counties gives 842 teams in demesne to 2002¼ teams belonging to the tenants. Roughly speaking, then, we may estimate that for every five teams of the tenants there were two teams in demesne; and the problem now resolves itself into a proportion sum; thus:

5 : 2 : : 3,900,000 : 1,560,000. So that the teams in demesne would cultivate 1,560,000 acres a year, or rather, 1,560,000 acres would be sown with corn on the demesne lands every year.

But one element in the problem has hitherto been omitted. Walter of Henley[1] says that the plough oxen should be fed at the manger for twenty-five weeks in each year, and that during that period a team of eight oxen would require 70 bushels of oats. But the bailiffs' accounts tell a different tale. The Combe accounts for several years allowed only 16 bushels of oats for the oxen (one team) and the horses, and only in one year did they receive as much as 24 bushels of oats; at Stoughton, in 1288, ten oxen received 48 bushels of oats. So that the text-book figures may be reduced at least by one-half, in which case, if we reckon 4 bushels to the acre, each team would require the produce of 8 acres; in other words, the produce of an additional 600,000 acres would be required for the keep of the 75,000 plough-teams recorded in the counties south of the Dee and the Humber. Adding these three items together, we have a grand total of 6,060,000 acres sown with corn every year.

But there were in this district, according to Professor Maitland, 75,000 teams;[2] so that for each team $80\frac{5}{6}$ acres would be sown in a year; and according to Mr. Seebohm, on a typical three-field manor, 80 acres would be sown with corn in a year. We may therefore claim that our calculations are not very inaccurate.

A few words must be added about the labour on the demesne farms of the magnates, of which the bailiffs' accounts of the Middle Ages give so much information. In every manor there was a demesne farm, for which the bulk of the labour was provided by the villans or geburs. At Stoughton (Sussex), in 1288, the bailiff accounted for 1189 days' work from the tenants; but in addition to these labourers, who

[1] Page 13.

[2] *D. B. and B.*, 436.

were employed only two or three days a week, the demesne required certain servants who would devote their whole time to their lord's work. The bailiff would be about the farm all day and every day; he was usually one of the villans who was released from his other services during his year of office; ploughmen, too, would be employed every day, for when they were not engaged in driving the manorial plough they would have to be looking after the plough-oxen; a shepherd was necessarily employed all the year round, and his work was the more necessary in those days when the sheep were at liberty to wander over a whole parish; a dairyman must be employed during the summer, and a swineherd during the autumn; but all of these, in the thirteenth century, were paid by allowances of corn. In the eleventh century some of these services would be performed by the slaves, who lived in the curtilage of the manor-house, and were maintained by the lord; but where slaves were lacking or insufficient, as in many manors, free labour would have to be hired, and this would be obtained from the bordars or from some of the members of the villans' families.

Lord and villan were alike bound by the custom of the vill, and the processes of cultivation on the demesne differed only in magnitude from the cultivation of the poorest villan; but in those counties where some tenants were bound to fold their sheep on the lord's land, the latter would produce bigger crops than those of his tenants.

CHAPTER XII

THE ENCROACHMENTS

"Quantum est additum vel ablatum?"

WHEN a foreign invader settles in a conquered country and takes possession of the lands occupied by the conquered race, there are not unnaturally complaints of hardship. We have already studied some of the cases of hardship which are recorded in Domesday Book, in the degradation of the freeholders, and under the question, "What has been added to the manor, or what has been taken away from it?" the Cambridgeshire jurors were asked to furnish particulars of another cause of complaint. Let us remember the state of the country. For centuries Englishmen had held lands in Cambridgeshire; but England had been conquered by the Normans, and the ancestral lands of its inhabitants had been taken away from them and given to the victors. But when King William made gifts to his followers, in most cases he did not give individual estates or districts, the village of A or the hundred of B, but he gave to X, his Norman follower, all the estates in a certain county or in certain counties belonging to Y, the dispossessed Englishman. But Y's interests in these estates were complicated: some he held in demesne, and of these estates in demesne portions were let to tenants; others were thegnland; over others he had a right of sake and soke, a right to the fines arising therefrom; and again it might be that certain

humbler freeholders had commended themselves to him. No wonder, then, that in unravelling this complication of interests, difficulties and disputes would arise: the title of the newcomer to certain estates would be disputed; lands would be annexed to manors to which they did not previously belong; men owing service (soke) to one manor would be taken from it and annexed to another; smaller neighbours, whose insignificance might presumably have saved them, fell under the lordship of some powerful magnate; and men who had merely commended themselves to the English predecessor were forced to pay dues to the Norman successor.

All these grounds of complaint actually did arise.

It was to avoid disputes about his title that Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, produced the charters of Newton (Devon) which testified that the church was seised thereof before the days of King Edward.[1] Reference has already been made to the dispute between Hardouin of Eschalers and the monks of Ely as to Swaffham. Usually the Commissioners contented themselves with reporting these disputes to the King, and leaving the matter to his decision. At Thrapslow they reported that "Hardouin of Eschalers holds a hide there by title of a lease from a former abbot for the victuals of the monks until he confer with the King (*donec cum rege inde loquatur*)."[2] Sometimes the Commissioners took possession of disputed lands and encroachments in the King's name. William the Deacon succeeded to the lands of Turchil at Peldon; but of the 5 hides belonging to Turchil's manor Hamo took 80 acres of arable land and 200 acres of marsh;" and the Commissioners report that "we" have taken this seizure ("occupationem") into the hands of the King.[3] Other cases of seizure into the King's hands occur when the occupier could not show a title. They thus took possession of certain lands of Turold, in Essex, because "the hundred

[1] D. B., I. 101 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 191 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, II. 94 b.

knows not in what manor he holds this land, and no one came on his part to prove his title."[1] Occasionally instead of taking possession of the disputed lands, they were content if the occupier gave security ("dedit vadem").[2] Security was also given in other cases: if a landowner withheld the services due to his lord;"[3] if a person called on another to warrant his title, and the warrantor made default;[4] or if a person received the rent of land to which he was not entitled.[5] And the long lists of "invasiones" in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and the "clamores" of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Huntingdon, show how careful was the inquiry into title, and favour Mr. Freeman's contention that the chief object of the Domesday Commission was to inquire if the King's gifts had reached their destined recipients.

Possibly it will be interesting to examine more closely one or two cases of disputed title. William of Charnet held the manor of Charford (Hants.) under Hugh de Porth; but Picot held 2½ virgates which William asserted belonged to the same manor, and based his claim on his heirship to his predecessor ("per hereditatem sui antecessoris"). To support his claim he—

"produced the testimony of the best and oldest men of the said shire and hundred; but, on the other hand, Picot produced his testimony from the villans and the common people and the reeves to show, either by their oaths or by the judgment of God (*i.e.* the ordeal), that the man who formerly held this land was a freeman, and could go where he would with his land. But William's witnesses are unwilling to accept anything but the law of King Edward."[6]

The dispute evidently turned on the point whether Pihtelet, who held the land T. R. E., held "in allodium of the King," as alleged by Picot, or whether his land was annexed to the manor of Charford. If, as William contended, his land was annexed to the manor, or, rather, if the services arising

[1] D. B., II. 25 b. [2] *Id.*, II. 100 b. [3] *Id.*, II. 3.
[4] *Id.*, II. 103. [5] *Id.*, II. 103. [6] *Id.*, I. 44 b 2.

from his land were annexed to the manor, the land or the services would pass with the grant of the manor. But if, as Picot contended, he was a freeholder with liberty of commendation, the land would not pass with the manor, and there was no reason why his land should not lawfully have been in the possession of Picot. The contention by William's witnesses, that the dispute should be settled according to the law of King Edward, refers to the old English law which valued a man's oath according to his social position.

It is often found that a man who owned the freehold of certain lands was also a leaseholder under one or other of the churches; and if he had commended himself in respect of his freeholds to a certain Englishman, the successor of that Englishman took possession of his freeholds, and often, disregarding the reversionary rights of the church, took possession also of his leaseholds. The case of Alfred Black has already been referred to. Here is a similar case: Miles Crispin succeeded to the lands of Brictric in Bucks.;[1] but Brictric had been leaseholder of Clopeham (Beds.) under Ramsey Abbey, and Miles took possession of Clopeham, in spite of the abbot's claim.[2]

Lands would be added to a manor to which they had previously belonged. Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, had a small estate at Borton, in Essex, but to it he added 40 acres which previously lay at Westerfield—a manor belonging to the King.[3] Bentley (Suffolk) was a separate manor belonging to Earl Gurth in the time of King Edward, but was afterwards added to Bergholt as a berewick.[4] And there is a long list of sokemen who were added by Ilbert and other sheriffs to the large manor at Hitchin.[5]

Men owing service to a manor would be taken away from it. On the royal manor of Stow (Suffolk) there were, T. R. E., forty sokemen who owed all their service to the manor; in

[1] D. B., 150 a 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 212 a 1. [3] *Id.*, II. 40. *Id.*, II. 287. [5] *Id.*, I. 132 b.

1086 seven only remained,—Hugh of Montfort had taken twenty away; Count Robert, six; Roger of Otburvill had six; Frodo, two; and Roger of Poitou, two.[1]

Small freeholders were forced to render their services to their powerful neighbours. In the days of King Edward, Ailmar, a King's thegn, had held 2½ hides and 30 acres at Terling, and five freeholders had held 3 hides less 15 acres;[2] King William granted Ailmar's land to Ralph Piperell; but the latter had also invaded the land of the five freeholders, of which he retained 30 acres in demesne, and sublet 2 hides and 80 acres to Roger.[3] Ulwin, T. R. E., held a manor of 2½ hides and 45 acres at Henies, where twelve freeholders also held 20½ acres; Ralph Piperell succeeded to Ulwin's manor, and sublet it to Turold;[4] but he also invaded the holding of the freeholders, and let that also to Turold.[5] And Turold followed the example of his lord, for he, too, invaded four freemen of 18 acres at the same place.[6]

Lastly, dues were exacted from men who had merely commended themselves to the English predecessor of the new lord. Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, succeeded to many of the estates of Wisgar in Essex;[7] but in the list of his invasions appear the names of a number of freemen with very small holdings, of whom Wisgar had merely the commendation.[8] Similarly, Hermer of Ferrars invaded two freemen at Barton (Norfolk), of whom his predecessor had merely the commendation.[9]

But these inquiries were mainly financial in purpose. Had the value of the estate been increased or diminished by any invasion?

It would seem that occasionally, as a result of these inquiries into title, an estate reverted to its former and rightful owner. Hugh fitz Baldric was in 1086 in possession

[1] D. B., II. 281. [2] *Id.*, II. 12. [3] *Id.*, II. 97 b.
[4] *Id.*, II. 74. [5] *Id.*, II. 99 b. [6] *Id.*, II. 101.
[7] *Id.*, II. 38 b. [8] *Id.*, II. 102. [9] *Id.*, II. 273 b

of Itchen ; but the Commissioners reported, "The Abbess of St. Mary's, Winchester, claims this manor, and the whole hundred, and moreover the whole shire, bears witness that it belonged to the abbey in the time of King Edward and of King William, and justly ought to belong to it." In the margin is a note : "King William restored it to the Church," [1] which must have been made after the text had been compiled.[2]

Incidentally, these reports on the encroachments reveal the independence of the Commissioners : they were determined to act fairly and justly by every man, however exalted or mean his position. They do not hesitate to report that the King himself has been guilty of taking property from one man and giving it to another. T. R. E. the Bishop of Selsey held Bexhill (Sussex), because it pertained to his see, and so held it till King William gave the castellary of Hastings to the Count of Eu ;[3] and they report that the King had taken half of the wood at Malvern belonging to the Bishop of Worcester into his own wood.[4] The only mention in Domesday Book of any son of the Conqueror is a report by the Commissioners that William, the King's son, took 3 virgates at Staplebridge (Dorset) from the church at Salisbury without the consent of the Bishop and monks (of Sherborne).[5] It was but natural that after the deposition of Odo, Earl of Kent and Bishop of Bayeux, in 1083, the Commissioners would not be unwilling to blacken his character, and they report innumerable encroachments made by him ; but they also report the reckless spoliation of the churches in Cornwall by the Count of Mortain. Many lands were taken by him from the churches of St. Petroc and St. German ; he took away from the monks of St. Stephen's a market belonging to them at Launceston,[6] and all the stock from 1 hide belonging to the Canons of St. Pieran's.[7]

[1] D. B., I. 48 a 2. [2] *V. C. H.*, *Hants*, i. 437.
[3] D. B., I. 18 a 2. [4] D. B., I. 174 a 2.
[5] *Id.*, I. 77 a 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 120 b 2. [7] *Id.*, I. 121 a 2.

Reference has been made to the passage in which the Commissioners report St. Paul for invading lands at Navestock, and the number of passages in which the bishops and churches are reported for being in wrongful possession of lands belonging to others, is a sign that the Commissioners were determined to spare no wrong-doers, and were not prejudiced in favour of the Church. We have therefore the more reason to believe their charges of high-handedness on the part of Harold, and to disbelieve Ingulf's tale, that the statistics of Crowland were omitted from Domesday Book on account of his own personal influence with the Commissioners and scribes.

CHAPTER XIII

VALUES AND RENDERS

"Quantum valebat totum simul? Quantum modo? Et si plus potest haberi quam habetur."

ALL these inquiries and statistics lead up to the great questions which sum up the object of the Domesday Inquest: "How much was the whole worth? How much is it worth now? Can more be had from it than is obtained?" The most casual reader of Domesday Book will at once notice that the third question is rarely answered in so many words. The Commissioners content themselves with giving details from which this question can be answered; in one place, and, as far as I have noticed, in one place only, do they definitely state that if a certain estate were well cultivated it would be worth considerably more than its present value; in all other cases they report the details, and leave the King or his officers to draw their own conclusion.

At the outset of our inquiry, we must notice the difference between "values" and "renders" (or "rents"). Speaking of the land held by thirteen freemen at Kenebrook (Suffolk), the Commissioners say, "The men of the hundred value this at 48*s.*, but they render £6."[1] And it is not uncommon to find, as at Steventon (Berks.), "It is valued at £22, yet it renders £40."[2] The royal manor of Witham was valued at £20, but the sheriff received therefrom £34, and a gersuma of £4;[3] and

[1] D. B., II. 343. [2] *Id.*, I. 57 b 2. [3] *Id.*, II. 2.

Hatfield Broad Oak was valued at £40, but the sheriff received £80, and a gersuma of £15.[1] It was part of the duty of the sheriff to manage the royal manors in his shire; and these gersumæ were premiums paid by the lessees for the privilege of taking a lease of a manor. Most of the royal manors in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Dorset were let at money rents, and in many cases the payments were not by tale, but by coin assayed and weighed. In addition to the gersumæ, or premiums, it was often the case that a lessee would agree to pay a rent higher than the recorded value of the property. Richard, son of Earl Gilbert, gave Thaxted (Essex) (which was valued by both French and English at £50) to a certain Englishman at cess for £60 a year, but every year he was deficient at least £10.[2] Similarly, the rent of the borough of Ipswich had to be reduced from £40 to £37, because the lessee could not pay the larger sum.[3] The manor of Blakenham was let for three years at £12 a year, and the lessees gave a premium of a mark of gold for the lease, "but the men who so received it at farm were all ruined (*confusi*)."[4] Pagham was valued at £60, but rendered £80 to the Archbishop of Canterbury—a rent which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, was "too heavy (*nimis grave*)."[5] The Commissioners call attention to the fact that William fitz Stur paid a rent of £60 for four manors in the Isle of Wight, "although they are worth less," being valued at only £28;[6] and in one passage they contemplate the possibility of a new lessee giving more than the present rent, "The shire says that if this manor (of Leominster, let at farm at £60 a year) were delivered, it might be valued at six score pounds."[7] And examples could be multiplied to show that lands let at a money rent often produced more than the sums at which they were valued; and thus we see the importance of distinguishing "values" from "renders."

[1] D. B., II. 2 b.
[2] *Id.*, 38 b.
[3] *Id.*, II. 290 b.
[4] *Id.*, II. 353 b.
[5] *Id.*, I. 16 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, I. 52 b 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 180 a 1.

But it was not only for rents in money that lands were leased: rents in kind were very numerous. We have noticed the provisions which were included in the renders of the Worcestershire sokes, and the "gwestva," or food rent paid by the Welsh tribesmen to their chief. Food rents of a similar nature were not unknown in England, and were to be found in all parts of the country. In the counties of Hants., Wilts., Dorset, Somerset, and Gloucester, we find frequent notices of the "firma unius noctis," the provision of board and lodging for the King and his court for a single night. Before the Conquest two of such firmæ were provided by the royal manors of Hampshire, six in Wilts., four in Dorset, five in Somerset, and two and a half in Gloucestershire. Each of the royal manors of Calne, Bedwin, Warminster, Chippenham, Tilshead, and Amesbury, in Wiltshire, provided one night's farm, which, in the case of Chippenham, was valued at £110 by tale; Barton Stacey and Eling, in Hampshire, co-operated in providing one night's farm; and Basingstoke, King's Clere, and Hurstbourne Tarrant joined in providing the other. The Dorset farms provided by a number of associated manors, of which the heads were Bridetone, Wimbourne, Dorchester, Pimperne, and Winford; the two latter (with their associates) found only half a farm each. The five Somerset farms were divided between two or more manors, and that they were no light burden is shown by the fact that they were commuted for over £105 each.[1] Barton and Westbury, in Gloucestershire, provided one farm each, and Oure found half a farm; 25 out of 30 hides were taken away from Westbury in 1070, "and yet from the remainder the sheriff provides the whole farm."[2] A well-known charter of Offa (*c.* 790) grants to Worcester Abbey the land of sixty manentes at Westbury and twenty at Henbury, reserving to the King the gafol due from Westbury as follows: "2 tuns full of clear ale, 1 comb of mild ale, 1 comb of Welsh ale, 7 oxen, 6 wethers, 40

[1] *F. E.*, 111.

[2] D. B., I. 163 a 1.

cheeses, six 'lang þero,' 30 ambers of rye corn, and 4 ambers of meal."[1] To identify the gafol due from Westbury in 790 with the night's farm derived from it in 1086 would be risky in the extreme, but the charter is quoted to show the antiquity and nature of the due.

In 1086 the nights' farms were still rendered to King William from Basingstoke and its partners, and from the Wiltshire, Dorset, and Gloucestershire manors; but the Somerset farms, and that from Eling and Barton Stacey had been commuted for money payments. Eastbourne and Beddingham in Sussex, had each rendered one night's farm to King Edward; but both these estates had passed into the hands of the Count of Mortain after the Conquest, and were then valued at £43 17*s.* and £36 respectively.[2] Beeding also rendered to the Confessor one night's farm, which was then valued at £95 5*s.* 6*d.*, but it passed to William of Braiose, and was valued, in 1086, at £40.[3]

The three Shropshire manors of Wintone, Meresbury, and Cerebury rendered the farm of one night, "into Dimplei in the time of Ethelred the father of King Edward,"[4] but this payment had been commuted before the Conquest.

In the eastern counties and Eastern Midlands mention is made of a smaller night's farm of much less value than those previously mentioned. Writtle, in Essex, rendered ten nights' farm and £10 in cash in 1066; but in 1086 its render was £100 by weight, and a gersuma of £5;[5] Laleford rendered two nights' farm, in 1066, but the render was commuted for £11 in 1086;[6] and there are other records of a similar nature. A small farm was also to be found in Cambridgeshire. In 1066 the royal manor of Saham rendered £25 by tale, and three farms of wheat, malt, honey, and other minute customs; in 1086 it rendered £25 by weight, and £13 8*s.* 4*d.* by tale

[1] Kemble, 166; Earle, *Land Charters*, 311.
[2] D. B., I. 20 b 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 28 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 253 b 1.
[5] *Id.*, II. 5.
[6] *Id.*, II. 6.

for the wheat, malt, honey, and other minute customs,[1] so that the farm in Cambridgeshire was commutable for something under £4 10*s.*; and there are some half a dozen records of a similar nature. Possibly the half of the day's farm rendered by each of the royal manors of Leighton Buzzard, Luton, and Houghton Regis was similar to the Cambridgeshire farm.[2] Turning to Suffolk, we find mention of another farm. Diss provided half a day's farm of honey with its customs, and Blythborough provided one day's farm of honey with the whole custom;[3] but of their value we have no indication. However, enough has been said to show that there was a material difference between the value of the night's farm in the west and its value in the east of England.

Sometimes the rent consisted partly of money and partly of provisions. In 1066 the royal manors of Barton and Cheltenham each rendered £9 5*s.* in cash and 3000 loaves for the hounds; in 1086 each rendered £20 in cash and twenty cows, twenty pigs, and 16*s.* for bread. In 1066 Cirencester rendered 3½ modii of wheat, 3½ modii of barley, and 6½ sextars of honey, in addition to £9 5*s.* and 3000 loaves as were provided by Barton and Cheltenham; but in 1086 its render was the same as that of the two latter manors.[4]

All our examples have hitherto been taken from the royal manors; but the monks also received food rents from their lands. Archdeacon Hale, in his edition of the Domesday of St. Paul's, shows that in the twelfth century the Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral were accustomed to receive wheat, barley, and oats from the manors that they let on lease; and the monks of Abingdon, Peterborough, and Malmesbury also received much of their rents in wheat and malt. There are more than traces of a similar custom in Domesday Book. Speaking of three estates in Worcestershire, the record says,

[1] D. B., I. 189 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 209 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, II. 282.
[4] *Id.*, I. 162 b 2.

"from these three lands was rendered farm (A.S. *feorme*, provisions) in the time of King Edward, because they were always reserved for the victuals of the monks."[1] Azor held a hide and a half at Pershore of the abbey for the lives of himself and his wife, and "thence served the church, and gave yearly one farm or 20*s.* to the monks."[2] Evidently he supplied the monks with provisions to the value of 20*s.* every year. After the Conquest the Canons of St. Pieran's, Cornwall, were deprived of two lands, which formerly rendered "the farm of four weeks," or provisions sufficient for their maintenance for a month.[3] Hereward, "the last of the English," appears to disadvantage in a transaction of this kind. Crowland Abbey owned certain land at Rippingale (Lincs.), which for a long time it held in its own hands; but Abbot Ulchel leased it to Hereward, on condition that he should supply the abbey with such a quantity of provisions as should be agreed on. Hereward did not carry out his part of the agreement, and the abbot seized the land into his own hands before Hereward fled the country.[4] Robert fitz Gerold held an unnamed estate in Somerset, which, when he received it, was worth £18, but in 1086 rendered one hundred cheeses and ten bacon-pigs.[5]

Bearing in mind that the word "farm" is a transliteration of the English word "feorme," meaning "provisions," we are tempted to see in the numerous records of lands being held "ad firmam," evidence of the frequency of food rents. Theodoric held Winterbourne (Berks.) of the King "ad firmam;"[6] in other words, he provided the King with a certain quantity of provisions. In Salop. a freeman rendered "8/- in firma," or provided his lord with provisions which were worth 8*s.*[7] Hence we understand the expression that one estate rendered farm into another, or lay in the farm of another. Finchampstead did not pay geld, but rendered farm into Reading.[8]

[1] D. B., I. 172 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 175 a 2. [3] *Id.*, 121 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 377 a 2. [5] *Id.*, I. 97 a 1. [6] *Id.*, I. 58 a 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 260 b 1. [8] *Id.*, I. 57 a 1.

Robert held half a virgate at Bedretune, which lay in the farm of Wantage.[1] But, on the other hand, it is possible that in some cases holding "ad firmam" implies that the tenant paid an agreed sum in cash for his land.

The student will, however, notice that in the large majority of instances the Commissioners state not the rents, but only the value of the various properties. In six only of the 360 properties in Oxfordshire that are separately assessed, are the rents given as distinguished from the values; and these six are royal properties. In other counties, where the rents are given, the values also are often stated. What, then, did the Commissioners mean when they spoke of "values"?

In the first place, it is clear that in reckoning both rents and values there were three or four sources of income whence the whole would be derived. Look at the bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century. The greater part of each account is taken up with the receipts and expenditure in connection with the demesne farm; but there were other sources of income. The customary payments of the villans, the rents of the socagers or freeholders, the perquisites of the court, the rents of the mill and the meadows, and the pannage of the swine, were all accounted for by the bailiffs. All these subsidiary receipts were added to the receipts from the demesne farm, and from the grand total all the expenses were deducted, and a balance was struck, for which the bailiff had to account.

By way of example, let us analyze the accounts of the Bailiff of Stoughton (Sussex) for the year ending Michaelmas, 1288:[2]—

[1] D. B., I. 57 a 1.
[2] *Ministers' Accounts*, 1030, 18.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Arrears	...		...	1	9	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Rents	12	7	$0\frac{3}{4}$			
Exitus manerii (pannage, pasture, wood)	3	3	5			
Perquisites of court	5	3	9			
Sundries	0	0	$6\frac{3}{4}$			
				20	14	$9\frac{1}{2}$
Sale of corn	7	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$			
„ stock	2	2	3			
„ wood	1	9	$9\frac{1}{4}$			
„ dairy produce	1	10	$7\frac{1}{2}$			
				12	17	$10\frac{1}{4}$
Works sold	...		...	2	5	$4\frac{3}{4}$
				£37	7	3

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
Rents	0	9	0
Fees, wages, food at boon-works	2	0	$10\frac{3}{4}$
Repairs	2	0	$9\frac{1}{4}$
	4	10	8
Paid to lord	32	13	7
	37	4	3
Balance in hands of bailiff	0	3	0
	£37	7	3

In addition to the corn, etc., sold by the bailiff, considerable quantities of corn, stock, and wool were delivered into the manor of Bosham, of which Stoughton was a member, and corn to the value of 57*s.* 4*d.* was given to the farm servants.

A different mode of procedure is scarcely conceivable. The bailiffs and lessees of the manors of the eleventh century must have made out their accounts in the same way as the

bailiffs of the thirteenth century; and Domesday Book shows that all but one of these sources of income were accounted for. The numbers of the teams belonging to the demesne and furnished by the tenants give a rough estimate of the area of the demesne farm. In the eastern counties the rents paid by the socagers and tenants are stated, and the profits of the mill, the meadows, and the wood are usually recorded. All these sources of income must have been taken into account by a prospective lessee when he was bargaining for the lease of a manor. They must also have been taken into account by the jurors when they made a sworn statement as to the value of a manor.

The most casual student of Domesday Book will notice that, as a general rule, the more teams that are employed on a given estate the greater will be its value. Reverting to our three Oxfordshire estates; Combe, with five teams, in 1086 was valued at £10; Deddington, with thirty teams, at £60; and Stanton Harcourt, with twenty-two teams, at £50. Every page in our record will show this general rule, that one element in the value of an estate depends on the number of teams employed, and hence on its state of cultivation; indeed, this latter element is admitted at Aldwinckle (Beds.), which "was worth 20*s.*; now 30*s.*; and, if it were well cultivated (*si bene exerceretur*), it is worth 100/-."[1]

But when once this general rule has been laid down, it is hard to see how it was applied. It must have been profoundly modified by the fact that some land is more productive than other. Take as examples three adjoining properties on the Cherwell, in Oxfordshire: Kidlington, with seven teams, was valued at £14;[2] Islip, with six teams, at £10;[3] and Watereaton, with nine teams, at £5.[4] To-day Kidlington is rated at 26*s.* an acre, and Islip and Watereaton at 30*s.* an acre. So that the land which is least valuable in this twentieth

[1] D. B., I. 222 a 1.
[2] *Id.*, I. 158 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 160 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 158 a 2.

century was in the eleventh century valued at the highest figure. Nay, more, different portions of the same vill were sometimes valued on different bases. Cutslow, adjoining Watereaton, was divided between two owners. Saward held of the Canons of St. Frideswide 2 hides, on which two teams were employed, and his estate was valued at 40*s.*;[1] Alfred held of Roger of Ivry 3 hides, on which was land for three teams, and on which two teams were employed on the demesne in 1066, but his estate was valued at £4.[2] And examples could be multiplied.

It is, therefore, clear that the Commissioners took no little trouble in arriving at the values assigned to the various properties. It would have been easy for them to put a value of £1 a hide or £1 a team on all the estates in a hundred. Professor Maitland has pointed out that "T. R. E. some force, conscious or unconscious, has made for 'one hide, one pound;'"[3] and this force appears clearly in the Little Domesday, where the small holdings of the eastern counties are almost universally valued at the rate of 2*d.* an acre, or £1 a hide. But out of the 360 Oxfordshire properties separately assessed, there were only fifty-eight estates of which the values T. R. E. work out at £1 a hide, and most of these were small properties of 1 or 2 hides each; and there were only seventy estates of which the value in 1086 works out at £1 a team. So that the Oxfordshire Commissioners cannot have adopted any rough-and-ready method of valuation, but must have made a separate valuation of every property; although it must be noticed that the values are always expressed in terms of pounds, or in round sums of shillings, which in many cases are easily reducible to pounds.

A more careful examination of the figures shows a difference between the standard of value of land wholly in demesne and land partly in demesne and partly occupied by tenants.

[1] D. B., I. 159 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 159 a 1.
[3] *D. B. and B.*, 465.

Black Bourton (Oxon.) was divided between three owners: Roger of Ivri had two teams in demesne, and his tenants had ten teams, and his estate was valued at £4;[1] Anschitil held another portion of the vill, and had only two teams in demesne and two slaves. This portion was valued at £2;[2] so that the value of Roger's share was increased by 4*s.* for every team owned by his tenants; Arnulf of Hesdin had the third portion, with three teams in demesne and three tenants' teams, which was valued at £4.[3] Lew also was divided between two owners: Walter Gifard had one team in demesne, and his share was valued at 20*s.*;[4] Aretius had one team in demesne, and his tenants had another, but this property was valued at 35*s.*,[5] and the increase of 15*s.* would appear to be due to the presence of the team belonging to the tenants. At Adderbury, Robert of Stafford had one team in demesne, which was valued at 30*s.*[6] In the same vill the Bishop of Winchester had four teams in demesne, and his tenants had nineteen teams, and his estate was valued at £20.[7] Evidently the nineteen tenants' teams had increased the value of his estate by £14. At Burwell (Cambs.) Alan had an estate of 2½ hides, on which he had two teams in demesne, and his tenants had three teams, and which in 1086 was valued at £4.[8] In the same vill Geoffrey had an estate of 1¼ hide, on which he had only two teams in demesne, and which was valued at 40*s.* So that the increased value of Alan's estate was due to the presence of the tenants' teams, which added 13*s.* 4*d.* each to its value.

Evidently each tenant's team added less value to an estate than each team in demesne. But why should this be so?

Reference to the Stoughton account on p. 228 will show that the expenses of cultivation of land in demesne were

[1] D. B., I.
[2] *Id.*, I. 161 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 160 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 157 b 1.
[5] *Id.*, I. 160 b 2.
[6] *Id.*, I. 158 a 1.
[7] *Id.*, I. 155 a 1.
[8] *Id.*, I. 195 b 1.

reduced to a minimum. To obtain a monetary return of £12 17*s.* 10¼*d.*, the actual payments in wages amounted to only £2 0*s.* 10¾*d.* True, the farm servants received allowances in corn of the value of 57*s.* 4*d.*; but, on the other hand, the tenants paid 45*s.* 4¾*d.* to be released from works which they were otherwise bound to perform; so that a corrected statement would be that the net expenditure in labour amounted to £2 12*s.* 10*d.* to obtain a return of £15 16*s.* 2¼*d.* (the corn given in wages being added to that sold). One hundred and fifty-two acres were sown with corn in that year, so that the net actual expenditure in wages was 4*d.* an acre; and the value of the demesne is shown, by deducting the amount spent in wages from the gross return, to be £13 13*s.* 4¾*d.* The bulk of the labour was supplied by the tenants; the bailiff accounts for 1189 days' work performed by the tenants, say, as much as would be performed by four men working throughout the year.

It was in some such manner that the values of the land wholly in demesne were calculated by the Domesday jurors.

"Siward, the Hunter, holds of the King 2½ hides in Chadlington (Oxon.); there is land for 2 teams. These he has in demesne with one slave and three bordars. There are 3 acres of meadow. It was and is worth 40*s.*"[1]

Except for the few acres occupied by the bordars, the whole property was cultivated as a demesne farm for the benefit of Siward; and the only way in which it would be worth 40*s.* to him, would be that it produced corn and other victuals which, after allowing for the maintenance of the slave, and the wages (if any) paid to the bordars, were worth 40*s.*

Now, it is obvious that the lord would not receive the whole of the net produce of the land in the occupation of a villan tenant. The services of a gebur were threefold—week-work, boon-work, and gafol—and, while the first and second

[1] D. B., I. 160 b 2.

of these would go to increase the value of the demesne, by diminishing the outgoings in the shape of wages, the gafol could not have amounted to more than the gross produce after allowing for the food of the villan and his family. The gafol paid by the gebur of the Rectitudines was the produce of 3 acres of land, 23*d.*, and a sextar of barley, and two hens at Martinmas, and a young sheep or 2*d.* at Easter.[1] The gafol of a tenant holding 2 bovates at Boldon, in 1183, was 3*s.* 10*d.* in money, half a chalder of oats, five waggon-loads of wood, two hens, and ten eggs.[2] The Liber Niger states that the villan tenant of a virgate at Kettering paid to the abbey (about the year 1125) 2*s.* 1½*d.* in cash, and one and a quarter hen, and forty eggs;[3] so that the abbot would receive slightly less than 9*s.* from each teamland in the occupation of the villans. In 1086 there were at Kettering one team in demesne and ten teams of the tenants, and its value was £11, of which the mills produced 20*s.*[4] If the tenant's gafol in 1086 was the same as it was in 1125, it would amount to £4 10*s.*; and thus the value of the teamland in demesne would be £5 10*s.* This at first seems an exorbitant value for one teamland; but the Liber Niger shows that in 1125 the villans ploughed 160 acres of demesne, and lent their twenty-two teams to the abbot seven times a year, or did 154 days' ploughing in all. Hence the area of the cultivated part of the demesne was the land of one team, say, 80 acres (⅔ of 120), plus 160 acres plus 154 acres (assuming that one team ploughed 1 acre in one day), or 394 acres in all. Hence we see that the area of the land in demesne—and therefore its value—depended partly on the number of teams belonging to the demesne farm and partly on the number of teams belonging to the tenants. The greater the number of the tenants who performed ploughing services, the greater the area of the demesne, and therefore the greater its value. The Ramsey Chartulary

[1] L. 446.
[2] D. B., IV. 566.
[3] Chron. Petrob., 157.
[4] D. B., I. 221 b 1.

tells that the demesne of the manor of St. Ives was of such area that it was cultivated by three teams of its own and the customary services and boon-works of its tenants, which were considered as of the value of three teams.

Possibly this emphasis on the value of the demesne is the reason why it was only the stock on the demesne that was recorded in the statistics for the three eastern counties and in the Cambridgeshire Inquest. Whatever might have been the number of the cattle and sheep belonging to the villans, the dues were fixed, and, so long as they were paid, the lord had no reason to inquire whether their holdings were understocked or not.

Let us return to our Oxfordshire examples. The sum of £60, which is given as the value of Stanton Harcourt, is made up of 40*s.* from the three mills, 30*s.* from the two fisheries, 25*s.* from the wood, the gafol paid by fifty-five villans and twenty-eight bordars who owned seventeen teams, and the produce of the demesne, which was cultivated by five teams of its own and the ploughing services of the villan tenants.[1]

Combe was valued at £10. Towards this the mill contributed 3*s.*, and the balance was made up by the gafol from six villans and six bordars, and the produce of the demesne, which was cultivated by two teams of its own and the ploughing services of the three teams of the villans. Possibly, too, the wood yielded some income, though its value is not stated.[2]

But now we are faced with the question, Why is the rent frequently stated to be less than the value?

Two explanations are possible. The bailiff was usually one of the villagers, and if he exacted more than the proper dues, or even if he exacted all that was due, he would be made to suffer for it by his fellows; but a lessee, if his rank was above that of the villagers, was above such reprisals, he

[1] D. B., I. 155 b 2. [2] *Id.*, I. 155 b 1.

could exact the uttermost farthing, and even more than his dues. Such harshness we have already seen in the eastern counties in connection with the sokemen and the freeholders, and "if they do such things in a green tree, what will be done in the dry?"

Another explanation is suggested by a passage in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*—

"As we have learnt from our fathers, in the primitive state of the Kingdom after the Conquest, the Kings received from their estates, not weights of silver and gold, but victuals alone, from which necessaries were furnished for the daily use of the Royal household. . . . But when these were paid according to the accustomed manner, the royal officials gave credit to the sheriff, reducing them into sums of pennies: for instance, for a measure of wheat to make bread for 100 men, one shilling; for the carcase of an ox, one shilling; for a ram or ewe, fourpence; for fodder for 20 horses, also fourpence." [1]

This appears to show that when a bailiff delivered rents in kind to the King, they were valued at prices far below the market value; but a lessee would turn them into money at the market value, and so could afford to pay a rent exceeding the nominal value.

Reference has been made to the "firma unius noctis," to the "gwestva," or food rent paid to the Welsh chieftains, and to the payment of rent in kind to the Canons of St. Paul's and to the monks of Abingdon and Malmesbury. The Liber Niger shows that the Abbey of Peterborough received a large quantity of corn from its tenants; and Bishop Grostete advised the Countess of Lincoln—

"Every year at Michaelmas, when you know the measure of all your corn, then arrange your sojourn for the whole year, and for how many weeks you shall sojourn in each place . . . but so arrange your sojourns that the place at your departure shall not remain in debt." [2]

[1] *Dialogue de Scaccario*, i. 7. [2] Walter of Henley, 145.

Evidently the produce of the demesne was not converted into money, but stored up for consumption by the countess in the place where it was grown. And it is not impossible that the frequent journeyings of the Court, in the early Middle Ages, were due to its custom of consuming the food grown on the royal manors in or near the place where it was produced. If this was the custom in the thirteenth century, it was most probably also the custom in the eleventh century, especially as, in the earlier period, there was a lack of coined money and markets; and there is one passage which has this custom in view. Speaking of Playden (Sussex), Domesday Book says, "The whole manor was worth £6 T. R. E., now 112/-. But what the Count has thence is worth £7 3*s*." [1] So that the values represent cases in which the produce of the demesne farm was supplied for the use of the owner of the estate, and was not converted into money. Very possibly, in reckoning the value of this produce, it was reckoned on an antiquated scale, and not at market values.

But included in these values were sundry payments in cash. The rents of the mill and the meadows and of the socage tenants are very often mentioned in places where only the values are given, and must therefore have been included in such values. The bailiffs' accounts of the thirteenth century show that the bailiffs received other payments besides the produce of the demesne, the gafol of the tenants, and the rents of the mill, the meadows, and the wood. The Stoughton account shows a sum of £5 3*s*. 9*d*. received from the perquisites of the court, which included the value of two cows received as a heriot from Lettice, the wife of Thomas Froude. The issues of the courts of the thirty-six manors, the accounts of which are entered in the Pipe Roll of the bishopric of Winchester for the year ending Michaelmas, 1208, amounted to £200 17*s*. 6*d*. out of a total receipt of £2720, or about 7½ per cent. of the whole. Of course, it is possible that the

[1] D. B., I. 20 a 1.

bailiffs of the eleventh century received similar dues, but the omission of any statement as to their value leads one to believe that such dues were of trifling value. The Cambridgeshire jurors were not asked any question about the profits of the courts, and considering how small was the profit received in some cases from the mill and the meadows, one would have supposed that, if there were manorial courts which returned more than a nominal profit, some question would have been asked concerning them. But it must be remembered that the universal existence of manorial courts at the time of Domesday Book is "not proven."

Other explanations of the Domesday values have been given.

1. After a comparison of the Domesday values of the manors belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral with the "summa denariorum" of the free tenants of those manors in 1181, and with the money rents paid by those tenants in 1222, Archdeacon Hale thinks that the three expressions were identical in meaning, and that the Domesday value was the amount of money paid by the free tenants in 1086; but, if this be so, why do we find the values given for many estates where there are no recorded tenants?

2. Professor Maitland says—

"I think it very clear from thousands of examples that an estate is valued as a going concern. The question that the jurors put to themselves is, 'What will this estate bring in peopled as it is, and stocked as it is?' In other words, they do not endeavour to make abstraction of the villans, oxen, etc., and to assign to the land what would be its annual value if it were stocked or peopled according to some standard of average culture."[1]

There is very little difference between this view and that elaborated in these pages, except that it is here contended that the values represent the actual produce and money received by the owner.

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 413.

Whatever may have been the meaning of the Domesday value, every one must notice the general rise in values during the reign of the Conqueror. The gross value (omitting those estates which produced rents) of Oxfordshire had risen from £1934 5*s.* in 1066 to £2397 8*s.* 6*d.* in 1086, a rise of 20 per cent.; and if, as has been previously suggested, the teamlands, the "terra carucis," represent the number of teams employed in the county in 1066, the average value of a teamland was 14*s.* 8*d.* in that year, and had risen to 22*s.* in 1086, an increase of 50 per cent. Increases of 25, 50, and 75 per cent. in the value of individual estates are not uncommon, and a few estates had actually doubled in value. Cuxham had increased in value from £3 to £6; Lewknor, from £10 to £20; and the Bishop of Bayeux's estate at Tew, from £20 to £40. And what is true of Oxfordshire is true of many counties in England. Yorkshire is the most noticeable exception: generations passed before that county recovered from the Conqueror's ravages. On page after page of the Domesday of that unfortunate county are numerous records of estates which were formerly flourishing, but "are now waste." The Terra Regis in Yorkshire fills seventeen columns, in the first four of which the lands formerly gelded for 894 carucates which 471 teams could plough, and were valued, T. R. E., at £570; in 1086 only 65½ teams were employed on these lands, and their value had sunk to £36 19*s.* 4*d.* On the manor of Alvertune and its eleven berewicks there were, T. R. E., sixty-six villans with thirty-three teams, "now it is in the hand of the King, and waste;" to this manor pertained twenty-four sokelands, assessed at 85 carucates, and inhabited by 116 sokemen; "now they are waste."[1]

In Buckinghamshire, too, there appears to have been a decrease of some 5 per cent. in values during the Conqueror's reign.

[1] D. B., I. 299 a 1.

In many cases an intermediate value is given—the value of the estate when it passed into the possession of its new owner—the value "quando recepit." Often these values are less than the values "on the day when King Edward was quick and dead." Mr. Baring has shown that from the diminution in the values between January 5, 1066, and the date when these estates were given to their new owners, we can trace the line of the Conqueror's march from Hastings to London. There is a band of wasted estates from Hastings to Dover, thence to the neighbourhood of Canterbury, and thence to Southwark. From Southwark there is a similar band of wasted estates through Surrey and Berks. to Wallingford; and thence there are two lines of waste, as though the army marched in two detachments to Berkhampstead, where, according to the Chronicle, Edgar Atheling and the English magnates submitted to the invader. And from a similar comparison of the values of the estates in West Sussex, he suggests that after the battle of Hastings, Duke William sent his fleet to Chichester Harbour to lie in safety and guard his right flank.[1] Similar reasoning convinces him that there is a substratum of truth in the story of the destruction of villages to form the New Forest, and he thinks that the line of wasted estates down the right bank of the Cherwell shows the track of the northern earls when they raided Oxfordshire in 1065.[2]

In addition to the values and renders of the individual manors in any county, Domesday Book often gives particulars of the income the King derived from that county as a whole. Thus we read—

"The County of Oxford renders the farm of three nights, that is, £150. From the augmentation, £25 by weight. From the borough, £20 by weight. From the Mint, £20 of pence of 20 to the ounce. For arms, 4/-. From the Queen's gersuma, 100/-. by tale. For a hawk, £10. For a sumpter horse, 20/-. For the hounds, £23 of

[1] *E. H. R.*, 1898, 17. [2] *Id.*, 1898, 295.

pence of 20 to the ounce, and 6 sextars of honey and 15*d.* by custom."[1]

These sums are clearly in addition to the rents of the royal manors, whose rents amount to £436. The payments from the borough and the Mint explain themselves, and the payment "de augmento" has been explained as the fine which the sheriff was willing to pay for the privilege of farming the county.

Like Oxfordshire, the counties of Worcester, Warwick, Wilts., and Northampton paid each £10 for a hawk, 20*s.* for a sumpter-horse, and £5 for the Queen; but the Sheriff of Worcestershire paid an additional £17 from the shire, and the record states that "these £17 and £16 are from the pleas of the shire and the hundreds," showing that the £16 (£5 for the Queen, £10 for a hawk, and £1 for a sumpter-horse) were produced from the pleas of the hundreds—from the King's share of the fines and fees levied in the hundred-moots. And the sheriff naturally complained because, although seven out of the twelve hundreds in the county were in private hands, so that he received nothing from them, yet he was nevertheless required to pay this sum of £16.[2] He also rendered £123 4*s.* from the royal manors.

In Warwickshire the payment for the hounds was £23, the same as in Oxfordshire; but in Northamptonshire £42, blanch money, was paid for their support. This latter county also paid £10 and five ores for the Queen's gift and for hay, £10 for a hawk, 20*s.* for a sumpter-horse, 20*s.* for alms, and 20*s.* for a hunting horse, and, like Oxfordshire, rendered the three-nights' farm, which, however, was commutable for £30.[3] In Wiltshire £10 were paid for a hawk, and 100*s.* and five ores for hay, showing that Northants, like Oxfordshire, paid £5 for the Queen's gift.[4] "T. R. E. the shire of Warwick with the borough and the royal manors rendered £65 and

[1] D. B., I. 154 b 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 172 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 219 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 64 b.

36 sextars of honey, or £24 8*s.* in lieu of the honey; in 1086 the royal manors and the pleas of the shire produced £145 of weighed money, and 24 sextars of honey," and the four sums of £23, £10, £1, and £5, as in Oxfordshire.[1] This is the only case, except Shropshire and Worcester, of a lump sum being stated which included all the dues paid from the county to the King. The city of Hereford, and the eighteen manors which rendered their farm into Hereford, produced £335 18*s.*; but this sum did not, apparently, include the proceeds of the pleas of the hundreds and the shire.[2] The city of Shrewsbury, and the whole shire and the manors that King Edward had in the shire, were in the hands of Earl Roger in 1086, and produced £305 15*s.*[3] But at that time the customs of the King and earl in the four ridings of Lincolnshire produced only £79,[4] and the values of the royal manors in that county are stated separately. It is noteworthy that the Queen's gift of 8 ounces of gold was produced from the three manors of Leighton Buzzard, Luton, and Houghton Regis, in Bedfordshire, in addition to their renders of £65 and a day and a half's farm. They also produced £20 for a sumpter-horse and the hounds, and other small dues, in addition to an ounce of gold from each manor, which the sheriff exacted as an "increment" or a premium for the lease thereof.[5]

[1] D. B., I. 238 a 1. [2] *Id.*, I. 179 a 1. [3] *Id.*, I. 254 a 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 336 b 1. [5] *Id.*, I. 209 a and b.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INCIDENCE OF THE GELD

THE function of a present-day valuation list is to enable the rating authority to know from whom and in what proportion the rates are to be levied. Similarly, the function of Domesday Book was to enable the Royal Exchequer and the sheriffs to know from whom and in what proportions the geld was payable.

We have already seen that the hide was the unit of assessment. A property that was assessed at 50 hides paid five times the amount of geld that was paid by a property that was assessed at 10 hides ; and when once a vill had been assessed at a certain number of hides, its assessment remained unaltered as a general rule, except in cases where for some reason or another its assessment had been reduced. Such reduction is to-day called "beneficial hidation," and is most frequently found in the south-eastern counties. In Sussex the first term of the formula often runs, "T. R. E. it gelded for A hides ; now for A^1."

There were two methods of beneficial hidation. Sometimes the reduction was made as a personal favour to the owner of a certain estate ; sometimes the hidation of a whole district was reduced, and every vill in that district received its proportion of the reduction. In the "Calendar of Documents preserved in France," edited by Mr. Round, is a grant by William the Conqueror to the monks of St. Mary of Mortain, of Hinctune in Piddle (Dorset), a manor of 10 hides,

"with sake and soke except the geld which is collected by hides, which is not to be levied except from 4 hides; the other 6 are in demesne, and are exempt."[1] The geld inquests of 1084 show that in that manor $5\frac{3}{4}$ hides were in demesne, and quit of geld. The same volume also contains a writ of William Rufus, that the manor of Horsley (assessed at 10 hides in Domesday Book) should thenceforth be assessed at 7 hides.[2] And in the Pipe Roll of 1130 is the record that Robert Gruesac and William Girbertus owed 100 marks of silver between them, that their manor of Burwardescote (Glos.) should thenceforward geld as 6 hides. This manor, though assessed as 40 hides T. R. E., gelded in 1086 for 6 hides; but there was a reversion to the old assessment, and the owners were willing to pay a large sum in cash to have the Conqueror's reduction confirmed by Henry I.[3] Like other charters, the King's writ reducing the assessment was produced at the shire-moot. Domesday Book records that the shire had never seen the King's writ or seal reducing the assessment of Herlege from 6 hides to 3;[4] but the hundred had seen the King's seal that 1 virgate at Rodbourne should be quit of geld.[5] Sometimes the reduction dated from the days of the Confessor, who reduced the assessment of Omenel from 15 to 10 hides.[6] Fareham was assessed at 20 hides, although there were really 30 hides there, but King Edward reduced the assessment "because of the Vikings, for it is on the sea."[7] But in the south-eastern counties, at all events, this reduction was usually by favour of the Conqueror, and was generally to be found only on the demesne manors of the magnates. In Sussex "the assessment of the four manors held in demesne by Earl Roger was reduced from $193\frac{1}{2}$ hides to 105; that of the four similarly held by William of Warenne, from 224 hides to 142; and of the four held

[1] No. 1206. [2] No. 468. [3] *D. S.*, i. 114.
[4] D. B., I. 47 b 1. [5] *Id.*, 50 a 2.
[6] *Id.*, I. 164 a 2. [7] *Id.*, I. 40 b 1.

by William of Braiose, from 32 hides to $12\frac{5}{8}$."[1] But Mr. Saltzmann has pointed out that each rape in Sussex was a fiscal unit, and that the sheriff of the owner of each rape collected the geld from that rape, and paid it to the sheriff of the county; and suggests that when the rapes were granted to their new owners, the assessment of each rape was reduced, and that instead of spreading the reduction over the whole of the rape, these owners reduced the assessment of their demesne manors, and left their tenants to pay the same as before.[2]

In Cambridgeshire, on the other hand, there was a block of hundreds in the centre of the county whose assessments were reduced, and each vill in the hundred participated in this reduction. Thus the assessment of the hundred of Erningford had been reduced from 100 to 80 hides, and this reduction was apportioned between the vills as follows:[3]—

	T. R. E.	T. R. W.
Morden (1)	10	8
„ (2)	5	4
Tadlow	5	4
Clopton	5	4
Hatley	5	4
Croydon	10	8
Wendy	5	4
Shingay	5	4
Litlington	5	4
Abington	5	4
Basingbourne	10	8
Whaddon	10	8
Meldreth	10	8
Melbourne	10	8
	100	80

Mr. Round, to whom we are indebted for the preceding

[1] *D. S.*, i. 111.

[2] *V. C. H.*, *Sussex*, i. 361.

[3] *F. E.*, 50.

table, has also shown reason to believe that the assessment of certain hundreds of Northamptonshire was reduced by 60 per cent., and of other hundreds by 50 per cent., and finds the reason for such reduction in the ravages of the Northumbrians in the neighbourhood of Northampton in the summer of 1065 ; he further shows that such reduction must have been made between 1075 and 1086.[1]

Mr. Saltzmann has pointed out that in Sussex the assessment appears to be imposed on the manors, and not on the vills. It is certain that when parts of a pre-Conquest manor lay in two or more vills, after the Conquest the two parts were separately assessed at figures which together totalled the pre-Conquest assessment. Very frequently that part which lay outside the rape containing the "caput manerii" escaped payment of geld, and "foris rapum" is equivalent in many cases to "nunquam geldavit."[2]

But if there had been reductions, there had also been increases in the assessments. Mr. Corbett has reckoned the particulars of the district to which he applies the term "Middle Anglia"—the counties of Oxford, Northampton, Rutland (part), Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham, Hertford, and Middlesex—and finds that in Domesday Book they are credited with 120 hundreds, but 13,200 hides; but in the Tribal Hidage (*c.* 675) a total of 12,000 hides, or 120 hundreds, is assigned to this district, and he therefore argues that in the four centuries that elapsed between Edwin of Northumbria and Edward the Confessor, the assessment of this district had been increased by 10 per cent., thus increasing the hidage from 12,000 to 13,200 hides.[3]

Certain lands were exempt from geld altogether. Waste—*i.e.* uninhabited or uncultivated—land paid no geld, as is shown by the Northamptonshire Geld Roll and the borough entries. The royal manors in Hants., Dorset, Wilts., and

[1] *E. H. R.*, 1900, 78–86. [2] *V. C. H.*, *Sussex*, i. 361.
[3] *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1900, 218, 219.

Somerset, that had rendered a night's farm to the Confessor, were all exempt from geld. And of some of them the Commissioners report, "It has never gelded, and is not divided into hides," or "It has never gelded, and therefore it is not known how many hides are there."[1]

The older writers on Domesday Book—Ellis, Pearson, Eyton, and Stubbs—say that all the demesne land of any lord in any manor was quit of geld. This is certainly true of the gelds of 1075 and 1083–4. The geld inquests of 1083–4 for the south-western counties show that the tenants alone paid that geld, the "exceeding muckle geld" of 72*d.* a hide. And a comparison of the Burton Chartularies with the Domesday Book shows that the demesne of the abbey paid no geld; for in a number of cases where the chartulary states that the "land of the tenants defends itself for A hides," the Domesday assessment of the whole property is only A hides. But, to say the least, it is very questionable whether Domesday Book lends any support to the sweeping suggestion that all the demesne land was exempt from geld. In one passage where it is stated that the demesne was quit of geld, that statement is introduced by a "but:" "Queen Edith held Alton (Hants.), T. R. E.; then there were 10 hides, and the villans paid geld for 5; now the Abbot (of Hyde) has 5 hides in demesne, *but* they do not pay geld."[2] In the hundred of Herstingstone (Hunts.) it is recorded that "the dominical carucates are quit of the King's geld. The villans and the sokemen geld according to the hides written in the writ (*breve*), except at Broughton, where the Abbot pays geld with the others for one hide."[3] But this would appear to be recorded as an exception. Again, it should be remembered that in many places demesne is contrasted with "inland." At Banbury the Bishop of Lincoln had in his demesne land for ten teams and 3 hides besides inland;[4] and at Deddington

[1] D. B., I. 64 b 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 43 a 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 203 a 2.
[4] *Id.*, I. 155 a 1.

the Bishop of Bayeux had in his demesne 11½ hides besides inland. At Hemingford Aubrey de Vere had 1 hide of inland, and in addition to this two teams in demesne.[1]

The explanation of "inland" is given in the record of Robert of Ouilly's manor of Watereaton: "Besides those hides (the 5 hides at which the manor was assessed), he has of inland 3½ hides which never gelded."[2] A further explanation is given at Lege (Salop.): "Roger the hunter holds the head of this manor, and his land which is inland is acquitted from the geld by the 2 hides which Azor holds."[3] Similarly, we read that, T. R. E., there were in Tewkesbury 95 hides; of which 45 were quit of all royal service and geld, except the service of the lord of the manor; and the whole 95 were acquitted and freed from geld and royal service by the 50 hides.[4] In other words, the 50 hides paid geld for all the 95 hides. Evidently the lords had succeeded in shifting the responsibility for the geld on their inland to the land of their tenants, so that the latter paid not only the geld on the land in their own occupation, but that on their lords' lands as well. It is for this reason that we are told the hidage of the inland at Watereaton; the authorities would want to know how many extra hides were to be paid for by the tenants in addition to those they occupied. The land on which lay the liability for the geld on the inland was called "warland."

One other point is suggested by the Garsington record: "There is one hide of inland, which lies in parcels among the King's land."[5] Possibly its lying "in parcels"—in the open fields—was an exception to the general rule, in which case we ought to regard the inland as "old enclosures" belonging to the lord of the manor.

This contrast of the inland which had shifted its liability for the geld with the demesne of the manor, would seem to

[1] D. B., I. 204 b 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 158 a 2.
[3] *Id.*, I. 254 b 1.
[4] *Id.*, I. 163 b 2.
[5] *Id.*, I. 156 b 2.

show that ordinarily demesne paid geld, and that its exemption in 1084 was an anomaly. Mr. Round has suggested that on this occasion the Council assented to the King's proposal to levy this "exceeding muckle geld" on condition that their demesne land was exempt.[1] While the geld inquests for 1084 show that no geld was paid in respect of the demesne, either by the lords or by the tenants, the Pipe Roll of 1130 and those of Henry II. show that in the twelfth century all the land in a county, whether in demesne or in the occupation of the tenants, was liable for geld. Domesday gives Oxfordshire 2420 hides (Professor Maitland counts 2412); in 1130 the Sheriff of Oxfordshire accounts for a Danegeld amounting to £239 9*s.* 3*d.*,[2] or 2*s.* a hide on 2394½ hides. The King then excused 10*s.* to the Abbot of Battle; but his only possession in Oxfordshire, according to Domesday Book, was Crowmarsh Preston, a 5-hide manor, of which 2½ hides were in demesne. Mr. Eyton has shown that while the hidage of Dorset in Domesday Book was 2313¾, including both the lands in demesne and in the possession of tenants, the Danegelds of 1130 and 1156 were paid in respect of 2282½ hides.[3]

Sometimes we find that, by special favour, lands belonging to the Church were quit of geld. St. Petroc owned much land in Cornwall, "but the lands of this saint never rendered geld, except to the saint."[4] When the King levied a Danegeld, the Church collected the geld from its own tenants, and paid the proceeds into its own treasury. Out of every pound paid by the hundred for geld, the Abbey of St. Edmund's received 5*s.* for the victuals of the monks.[5] At Betune (Glos.) there were 2 hides, and the hide that gelded is contrasted with the hide that belonged to the church—a contrast which may indicate that the hide that belonged to the church was quit of geld.[6] But we must not therefore conclude that all

[1] *D. S.*, i. 98. [2] *F. E.*, 95. [3] *Notes on Domesday, Shropshire.*
[4] D. B., I. 121 a 2. [5] *Id.*, II. 372. [6] *Id.*, I. 170 b 1.

Church lands were quit of geld. At Shrewsbury[1] and Chester[2] it is expressly stated that the lands of the Bishops of Hereford and Chester gelded with the citizens, although the new monastery founded by Earl Roger did not pay geld. The Pipe Roll for 1130 distinctly shows that Church property then paid to the Danegeld.

Reference to Shrewsbury shows another case of exemption: the French-born burgesses did not pay geld,[3] although, by a law of the Conqueror, the Frenchmen who had settled in England before the Conquest paid geld like the English.[4]

A casual note in the statistics relating to Berkshire shows that the geld was collected in two instalments—at Christmas and Whitsuntide,[5] and the geld inquests for the south-western counties show that the sheriff accounted for it at the Exchequer at Easter and Michaelmas.

Non-payment of geld involved the forfeiture of the land for which it was unpaid;[6] but it would seem that if a third party paid the geld he thereby became entitled to the property,[7] and instances of a person paying geld for land that was not his are recorded as anomalies. Anschitil de Ros held 16 acres at Watone under the Archbishop of Canterbury, but Count Alan paid the geld;[8] Humphrey paid geld on a virgate of land in Trochinge, but yet had it not.[9] There is a case in which Ralph Taillebois paid the gablum of certain land which the occupier refused to pay, and so became entitled to the land.[10]

The chief result of the compilation of Domesday Book was the entire alteration of the method of collecting the geld. The Northampton Geld Roll for 1075 and the geld inquests for 1083–4 show that the geld was then collected hundred by hundred, either by the hundreds-man or by special

[1] D. B., I. 252 a 2.
[2] *Id.*, I. 262 b 1.
[3] *Id.*, I. 252 a 2.
[4] *S. C.*, 84.
[5] D. B., I. 56 b 1.
[6] *Id.*, I. 141 a 2.
[7] *D. S.*, i. 89.
[8] D. B., I. 151 a 1.
[9] *Id.*, 153 b 1.
[10] *Id.*, I. 216 b.

collectors called "segadri," and was collected directly from the villans in the various vills; there are numerous records that the King did not have the geld from the villans on certain lands.[1] But the Pipe Roll for 1130 shows the sheriff of the county collecting the Danegeld from the tenants *in capite*, and disregarding the hundreds and villans. In none of the Pipe Rolls is there any evidence that the Danegeld was paid to the sheriff otherwise than through the tenants *in capite*.

A second result of its compilation was a return to or towards the pre-Conquest assessments. The Conqueror's beneficial hidations had reduced the assessment of Surrey from 1830 to 706 hides,[2] but in 1130 the sheriff accounted for a Danegeld of £175 1*s.*, or a payment of 2*s.* a hide on 1750½ hides.[3] The assessment of Berks. had been reduced from 2473 to 1338 hides;[4] but in 1130 the sheriff accounted for a Danegeld of £200 1*s.* 3*d.*,[5] or a payment of 2*s.* a hide on 2000½ hides. We can therefore understand why Robert Gruesac and William Girbertus were willing to pay 100 marks that their assessment might stand at the figure to which the Conqueror's favour had reduced it.

But the jurors were asked for details on which a new assessment could be based, and it might be said that two alternative schemes for a new assessment are given: such new assessment might be based either on the number of teams employed or on the annual values of the various estates in 1086.

Was a new assessment ever based on such evidence?

This is a question that cannot be answered with certainty. Orderic Vitalis tells us how Ralph Flambard, with the consent of William II., "measured with a rope, and described all the carucates which the English call hides,"[6]—a passage which

[1] Pimperne: D. B., IV. 23.
[2] *D. B. and B.*, 401.
[3] *V. C. H.*, *Surrey*, 277.
[4] *D. B. and B.*, 401.
[5] *F. E.*, 94.
[6] Qu. Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, i. 302.

is explained by Bishop Stubbs to mean that "the Old English hide was cut down to the area of the Norman carucate, and thus estates were curtailed and taxation increased at the same time." It has been thought that this passage indicates that a new Domesday Book was prepared within some ten years of our record, especially as a preceding passage states that Ralph Flambard urged the King to revise the "description" of England, and "descriptio" is one of the terms that Domesday Book applies to itself. But of this second Domesday there is no evidence, and it must be remembered that Orderic was a Norman monk, writing in Normandy, and Bishop Stubbs therefore thinks that in this passage Orderic was referring to the compilation of Domesday Book, and has post-dated its completion by some ten years.

Possibly, however, the distinction between "teamlands" (or carucates) and "hides" gives the clue to the correct interpretation. Did Ralph Flambard advise the King to levy the Danegeld, not according to the old system of hides, but according to the teamlands shown by Domesday Book? It is not impossible that Orderic heard that there was some dispute as to valuation, in which the rival systems were based on teamlands and hides respectively, and that his distance from England led him to confuse this dispute between two rival systems of valuation with the earlier inquiry, the results of which are to be found in Domesday Book. Whether this be so or no, we may without much hesitation attribute to Ralph Flambard the wholesome disregard of the Conqueror's beneficial hidations, which is shown by the Pipe Roll of 1130.[1]

In our introductory chapter we stated that at the Gloucester gemot of 1085 the King would probably be told by his Council that certain counties were over-assessed and that others were under-assessed. Some explanation of these is necessary. A hide, we must remember, was originally

[1] *D. S.*, i. 116.

supposed to be the land of one family, which was cultivated by a team of eight oxen ; but by the time of Domesday Book there were many cases in which the number of hides at which a property was assessed varied considerably from the number of teams employed on that property. When the number of hides was equal to the number of teams, the property would be fairly assessed ; if the hides exceeded the teams, the property would be over-assessed ; if the hides were less than the teams, the property would be under-assessed. Reverting to our three Oxfordshire examples: Combe was assessed at 1 hide, but employed five teams ; it was therefore under-assessed. Deddington, assessed at 36 hides, employed thirty teams, and was therefore over-assessed. Stanton Harcourt was assessed at 26 hides, and employed twenty-two teams ; it also was over-assessed.

Let us apply the same method to the counties ; but in so doing we must take no notice of the Conqueror's beneficial hidations, but must compare the hidage of 1066 with the teams employed in 1086. Using Professor Maitland's figures,[1] we find that there is no county in which the numbers of the hides and teams are the same. The three counties whose assessment appear to be the fairest are Oxfordshire (where H : T :: 100 : 102), Bucks. (100 : 99), and Hants (100 : 101). But if Hampshire was fairly assessed, the other counties which formed the original kingdom of Wessex were much over-assessed: Surrey (100 : 62), Berks. (100 : 73), Wiltshire (100 : 74), and Dorset (100 : 77), were more heavily assessed than any counties in England, except Middlesex (100 : 63), Warwick (100 : 73), and Leicester (100 : 73) ; possibly the presence of London may account for the heavy assessment of Middlesex. Sussex, too (100 : 89), was over-assessed, but its neighbour, Kent, was very lightly assessed in having two and a half teams for every sulung at which it was assessed. The two counties which were most under-assessed were

[1] *D. B. and B.*, 400.

Devon (100 : 495) and Cornwall (100 : 766); but for this an explanation has already been suggested—that the hide represented the settlement of the conquering Saxon, and that at the Saxon conquest numbers of Britons were spared whose lands were omitted from the hidage of these counties. A similar explanation will account for the under-assessment of Somerset (100 : 125), Gloucester (100 : 161), Worcester (100 : 159), and Shropshire (100 : 141).

Mr. Round has approached the subject of over- and under-assessment from a different standpoint.[1] He has calculated the sums paid by the various counties for Danegeld in 1130, and compared these sums with the number of square miles contained in these counties, and finds that there is a compact block of counties in the centre of the island—Berks., Wilts., Oxon., and Bucks.—of which every square mile paid approximately two-sevenths of a pound. To the north and west of this block is a band of five counties—Leicester, Warwick, Worcester, Gloucester, and Somerset—paying approximately one-seventh of a pound a square mile; and, similarly, the four eastern counties—Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge—paid about one-seventh of a pound for every square mile. Every square mile in Middlesex paid two-sevenths and in Sussex one-seventh of a pound; but Kent paid only one-fifteenth, Nottingham and Derby only one-seventeenth, and Devon and Stafford only one twenty-seventh of a pound per square mile. For our purpose, it is sufficient to note that of the twenty counties mentioned ten paid one-seventh of a pound per square mile. If this be considered the normal assessment, some counties were over-assessed, while others, and these especially the last-conquered shires, were under-assessed. "Kent, which had so steadily maintained first its own independence, and then its local institutions, had succeeded in preserving an assessment that its neighbours had cause to envy."[2]

[1] *F. E.*, 94, etc.

[2] *Id.*, 95.

By both methods we come to the conclusion that Middlesex, Berks., and Wilts. were over-assessed, that Kent was lightly assessed, and that Devon was considerably under-assessed.

We are not therefore surprised to find that the levy of the Danegeld by hides died a quiet death during the reign of Henry II.; for the "carucage imposed by Richard I. in 1198 was levied from the carucates actually in cultivation."[1]

Finally, notice should be taken of Mr. Corbett's ingenious theory concerning the amounts of the Danegeld given by the English Chronicle. He has made various calculations to show that Domesday Book assesses the whole of England at 1200 hundreds. If the geld had been 2*s.* a hide, the yield of 1200 hundreds (supposing every hundred to have contained exactly 100 hides) would have been £12,000. And he points out that all the sums stated by the Chronicle to have been collected by way of Danegeld are multiples of £12,000. His table, with sundry omissions, is as follows:[2]—

A.D. 991	£10,000 = $\frac{5}{6}$ ×	£12,000,	or a geld of	20*d.*	per hide	
994	£16,000 = $1\frac{1}{3}$ ×	„	„	„	32*d.*	„
1002	£24,000 = 2 ×	„	„	„	4/-	„
1007	£36,000 = 3 ×	„	„	„	6/-	„
1012	£48,000 = 4 ×	„	„	„	8/-	„
1014	£21,000 = $1\frac{3}{4}$ ×	„	„	„	3/6	„
1018	£72,000 = 6 ×	„	„	„	12/-	„

Evidently the Chronicler knew the rate at which the geld was levied in those years, and the number of hundreds in the kingdom, and, acting on the supposition that each hundred contained exactly 100 hides, he calculated these immense totals. But we know that every Domesday hundred did not by any means contain 100 hides, so that, while we are at liberty to accept these rates, we must dismiss the totals as obvious exaggerations.

[1] *S. C.*, 257.

[2] 14 *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 220.

CHAPTER XV

A TYPICAL VILLAGE

HITHERTO, like Ezekiel, we have been wandering in a "valley of dry bones,"—the dry bones of statistics and legal details. "Can these dry bones live?" Possibly the spirit of imagination may put life into them, and enable us to form some idea of the state of our English villages at the end of the eleventh century.

Those who have travelled by rail from Oxford to Cambridge will remember that a few miles out of Oxford they cross a bridge over the river Cherwell, and a little further on pass through a cutting some 30 feet in depth; and then, after stopping at a little station, go for miles over a flat country without a hill. This ridge of high ground separates the valley of the Cherwell from that of its tributary the Ray, and affords a dry foundation for the village of Islip.

There are few villages whose position is more absolutely fixed by geological reasons than Islip. The ridge of high ground through which the railway passes has its counterpart in an exactly similar ridge on the south of the Ray, which gradually rises until it is lost in the hills where, in the eleventh century and far later, were the royal forests of Stowood and Shotover. Between these two ridges the Ray cuts a gorge of some 30 yards wide and 500 yards long.[1] From the heights

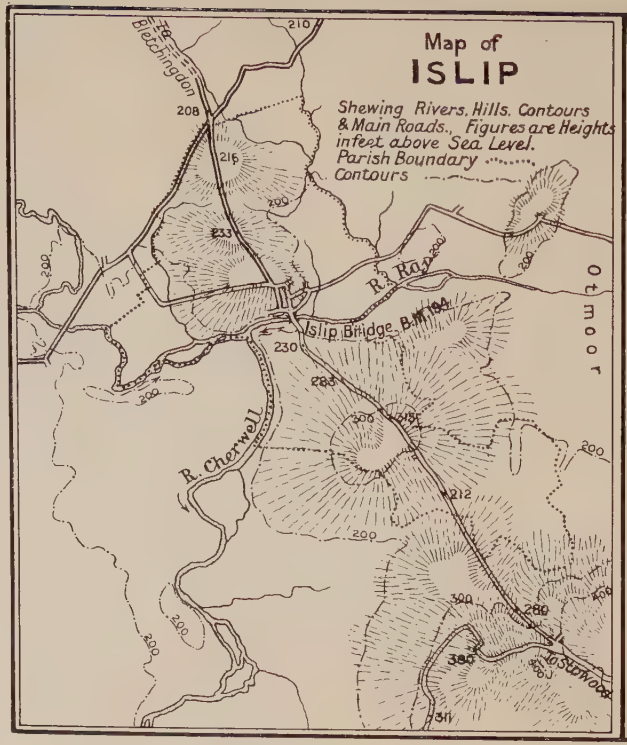
[1] The height of Islip Bridge above sea-level as shown on the map, is the height of the bench-mark on the bridge, which is at least 8 feet above the level of the top of the river-bank.

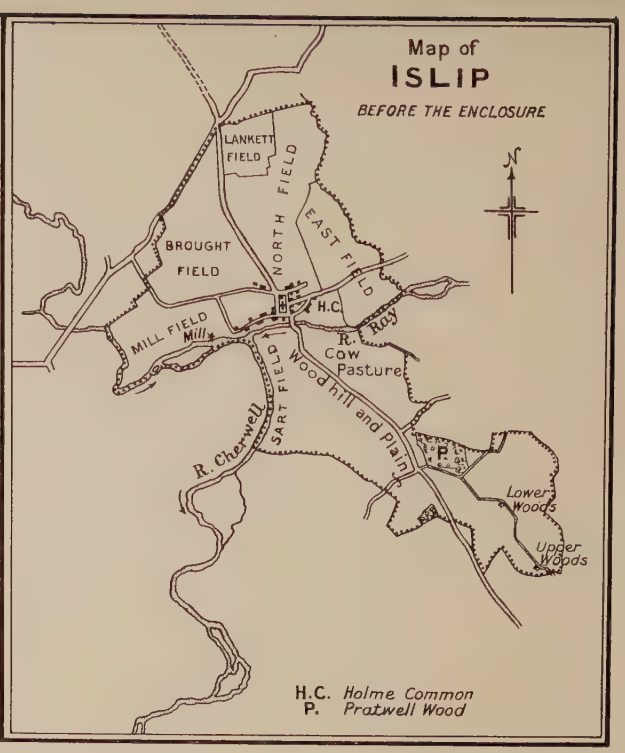
of Stowood comes down an old road—one of the old coaching roads between London and Worcester—which crosses the Ray at Islip Bridge, and runs along the highest point of the northern ridge to Bletchingdon and Kirtlington, where it is continued in the pre-Roman road known as the Portway. On the east of these ridges the Ray valley spreads out into Otmoor, where, in spite of the enclosures and drainage, the floods to-day lie out after a heavy rain, and which in the old days was an impassable swamp. On the west of them lies the Cherwell valley, which, too, is flooded very frequently. If the city of Oxford was held by a hostile force, the only means of passing through the county from south to north in flood-time was along this road and over Islip Bridge. Charles I. recognized the military importance of Islip, and maintained a garrison in the village; and there was at least one skirmish between his forces and the Parliamentarians at Islip Bridge.

Although there is no mention of Islip in any document older than the reign of Edward the Confessor, there can be little doubt that its military importance was recognized from the earliest times. Here was obviously the best place to check raiders coming from either south to north or north to south. And, from the fact that the greater part, and that too the older part, of the village is on the north of the Ray, it would seem that the first settlement was made by those who wanted to defend themselves from a raider from the south.

Passing from surmises to records, we find that the record of Islip in Domesday Book is as follows:—

"The wife of Roger of Ivry holds of the King 5 hides in Islip. Of these, three hides never rendered geld. There is land for 15 teams. Now there are in demesne 3 teams and 2 slaves, and 10 villans with 5 bordars have 3 teams. There is a mill of 20/- and 30 acres of meadow. Pasture 3 furlongs long by 2 broad. Wood one league long and half a league broad. It was worth £7 in the


Map of
ISLIP
Shewing Rivers, Hills, Contours & Main Roads., Figures are Heights in feet above Sea Level.
Parish Boundary
Contours
To Bletchingdon
Islip Bridge B.M. 194
R. Ray
R. Cherwell
Otmoor
To Stowood
210
208
216
233
230
283
315
212
280
380
311
200
300


Map of
ISLIP
BEFORE THE ENCLOSURE
N
LANKETT FIELD
NORTH FIELD
EAST FIELD
BROUGHT FIELD
MILL FIELD
Mill
H.C.
R. Ray
Cow Pasture
SART FIELD
Wood hill and Plain
R. Cherwell
P.
Lower Woods
Upper Woods
H.C. Holme Common
P. Pratwell Wood

time of King Edward. When she received it, £8. Now it is worth £10. Godric and Alwin held it freely."[1]

Then follow the statistics relating to Oddington, the village adjoining Islip on the east, and afterwards is the statement, "The wife of Roger of Ivry holds these two lands of the King in commendation."

We first notice that Islip is a manor and vill assessed at 5 hides, and that three of its hides had never paid geld; it does not appear probable that these hides were inland and had shifted their liability to the other lands in the vill. "Inland" is distinctly mentioned as such in the adjoining manor of Watereaton. And it will be noticed that the record does not state that these 3 hides were in demesne. It would be better to consider that for a long time this vill had been beneficially hidated, and that its assessment of 5 hides had been reduced to two.

It is comparatively an easy matter to deal with the assessment, but the agricultural statistics require more consideration.

Islip lay in open fields till 1806, and the map attached to the Enclosure Award gives some slight particulars from which the general outline of the old open fields can be reconstituted. If reference be made to this map, it will be seen that north of the Ray there were five fields: Mill Field, Brought Field, the Lankett, North Field, and East Field; south of the Ray were Sart Field, the Wood Hill and Plain, the Cow Pasture, and certain old enclosures known as Pratwell Wood, and the Upper and Lower Woods. We at once connect "sart" with "assart," a word we have previously seen to mean the land recently broken up and brought into cultivation; and the names of the southern fields suggest that they were the last to be brought into cultivation. That being so, it is natural to look in this direction for the wood mentioned in Domesday Book, and a rough measurement will show that from the Ray to the southern boundary of the parish is a

[1] D. B., I. 160 a 2.

distance of about 2 miles, while from the Cherwell to the eastern boundary is about 1 mile. The Domesday measurements of the wood are 1 league by half a league, or 12 furlongs by 6. The map, too, would lead us to look in the same direction for the pasture of 3 furlongs in length by 2 in breadth. The old Cow Pasture was of approximately the same dimensions till 1806.

The meadow of 30 acres can be identified with more certainty ; for to the east of the bridge, on both banks of the Ray, the map shows about 30 acres of meadow, known as the Holme Common, which have never been ploughed. All the other grass-land in the parish shows, by its ridges and furrows, that at some time or other it has been under the plough. The mill still stands where its predecessor stood in the eleventh century, and is driven by a cut from the Cherwell. But the omission of any mention of a church is no proof that there was then no church in the village. Oxfordshire churches are generally omitted, and it should be remembered that there are traces of Norman work in the existing church.

Our identification of the wood and the pasture with the southern portion of the vill compels us to find all the land which was then under the plough in that part of the parish which lies to the north of the Ray, an area of about 1000 acres. This was cultivated by six teams in 1086 ; but fifteen teams were employed in the time of King Edward. The reason for this decrease is to be found in the raid of the Northumbrians to Oxford during the summer of 1065. Wherever they went they lived on the fat of the land, little caring that they destroyed the cattle of the villagers, and by so doing they reduced the area of the land under cultivation. Possibly, too, some of these fifteen teams were employed in the southern part of the vill, and after the raid this land had been allowed to go out of cultivation, and had relapsed into a state of scrub and bush.

At the last census the population of Islip was about 550.

As only seventeen families are recorded in Domesday Book, the population at the end of the eleventh century must have been about one hundred. Of these, two families were slaves, and were housed in the curtilage of the manor-house, and received their provisions from the lady of the manor. Five families were bordars, or cottagers, occupying separate houses with a few acres—perhaps five—attached to each, and possibly working for wages on the demesne farm during part of the week. It is obvious that two slaves could not do all the work on the demesne where three teams were engaged ; assistance must be procured, if only to drive one of the ploughs. The other ten families were villans, who together owned twenty-four plough oxen, and could between them furnish three teams for the cultivation of the demesne. Of these ten, eight held 1 virgate each, and found two oxen each for the demesne plough. Each of the others had 2 virgates, and found four oxen. During part of the week these villans would be working with their united teams, or at other work on the demesne ; but the rest of the week they would be employed with their smaller teams of two or four oxen on the land in their own occupation.

If the picture drawn in the Rectitudines Singularum Personarum of the typical estate in the reign of Ethelred II. can be relied on, it shows that, while much of the ploughing and harvesting would be done by the geburs, the villans, as a consideration for the land they occupied, there was of necessity a staff of labourers employed on the demesne. That document sets forth the duties of the swineherd, the sower, the oxherd, the shepherd, the cowherd, the goatherd, and the cheese-worker, and others. All of these were subject to the bedell, who "ought for his service to be freer from work than the other men, because he is more frequently hindered." The possibility of the swineherd and the bee-keeper being slaves is foreseen, and it is clear that the bedell would often be a man who owed other services, and he was

usually one of the geburs. But nothing is said as to the status of the other servants, and, from the arrangements made as to their remuneration, it would appear that they performed their services voluntarily, and not because they were obliged to do so by custom. Possibly some of them were the sons and daughters of the geburs or villans, or even the villans themselves, who performed the customary duties due from their land by deputy, and for such purpose made use of their grown-up sons. We must remember that in Oxfordshire the Domesday Commissioners draw no distinction between sokemen and villans, between geneats and geburs, and therefore it is possible that some of the inhabitants of Islip who are classed as villans were really sokemen, and worked on the demesne only at specially busy times.

The houses occupied by the tenants were poor and mean, built of wattle-and-daub, on a wooden frame, with no windows and no chimneys: a hole in the roof let out the smoke and let in the light. In none would there be more than one room, unless perchance there was a loft under the thatched roof, in which a few of the family could sleep. In all cases the bare earth formed the floor, and a hob of clay in the centre of the house was the only hearth. Domesday Book gives an amusing proof that our description of the tenants' houses is practically correct: Hugh the Steerman had a quarrel with his tenants at Ebrige, and transported the hall and the houses and the stock into another manor; evidently neither the hall nor the other houses were built of stone.

The details of the stock on the demesne farm at Islip in 1086 have not come down to us; but a reference to the table on page 264 will show the number of animals kept on farms of a similar area in other counties. The average of that table shows that on a farm employing three teams the stock would be about four horses, ten non-ploughing oxen, thirty-one pigs, and 237 sheep.

Turning from the tenants to the lord, we find ourselves

in a little difficulty. Some time before his death, Edward the Confessor had given to Westminster Abbey "that cotlif Islip, in which I was born, as Emma my mother gave it to me;"[5] and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as representing the Dean and Chapter, are still lords of the manor and owners of most of the land in the parish. But Domesday Book records that its owners in 1066 were Godric and Alwin, who held it freely, and therefore owed no service to any but the King. They were dispossessed by the wife of Roger of Ivry, the daughter of Wigot of Wallingford, who held Islip and Oddington of the King in commendation. The Testa de Nevill records that the Abbey of Westminster held Islip by gift of St. Edward, and in another place the same record states that the abbot recovered it from William of Curci by assise before the King. These riddles may perhaps be solved by some future investigator, but at present it seems that the Domesday Commissioners erred when they stated that Godric and Alwin held it freely; possibly they were tenants of the abbey for life or lives, and on their forfeiture the King, in ignorance of the claims of the abbey, bestowed the vill on the wife of Roger of Ivry, and it was not till the thirteenth century that the abbey was successful in recovering it from William of Curci, to whom it had passed in the mean time. If the Oxfordshire Commissioners had recorded the "clamores" for Oxfordshire, as their colleagues did for Lincolnshire, we should probably have learnt of the claim of Westminster Abbey to Islip.

Lastly, it will be noticed that, in spite of the ravages of the Northumbrian raiders, and of the decrease in the cultivated area, the value of the estate had risen from £7 to £10. This can only mean that the wife of Roger of Ivry dealt so harshly with her tenants that her "little finger" was "thicker than her predecessors' loins," and that the condition of the tenants had changed for the worse.

[8] K., 862.

TABLE A.

TABLE SHOWING TEAMS EMPLOYED ON ROYAL AND OTHER ESTATES IN 1086.

County.	Total teams.	King.	Rents of Terra Regis.	Church.	Bishop of Bayeux.	Count of Mortain.	Survivors.
			£				
Kent	3,102	269	416	1,676½	91¼	—	—
Sussex	3,091	44	95	603	(18)	407	—
Surrey	1,142	229¾	328	406	125	9½	20
Hants	2,614	618½	983	930	—	3	62½
Berks.	1,796	613½	979	535½	(2)	1	14
Wilts.	2,997	695	1,296[1]	1,152½	11	13½	61¼
Dorset	1,762	297	736[2]	776	5	110	33½
Somerset ...	3,804	780	1,309	1,025	5	317½	25
Devon	5,542	1,172½	977	1,039½	—	306½	72½
Cornwall ...	1,187	303	116	292½	—	590	—
Middlesex ...	545	—	1	260½	—	19½	—
Hertford ...	1,406	127¾	116	455¼	64	58½	4¾
Bucks.	1,952	98½	226	206	194½	100¾	15
Oxford	2,467	214	463	554	301	6	39
Gloucester ...	3,768	925	945	1,199	—	3	61
Worcester ...	1,889	144½	124	999¼	14	—	28
Hereford ...	2,479	675½	356	733	—	—	—
Cambridge ...	1,443	122	269	454	—	6½	—
Hunts	967	122	129	462	—	—	12¼
Bedford ...	1,367	164¼	65[3]	111¼	34	—	8½
Northants ...	2,422	358	500	503	25	217¾	—
Leicester ...	1,817	231	104[4]	151	—	—	—
Warwick ...	2,003	183		308	19½	—	55
Stafford ...	951	218	155[5]	244½	—	—	7½
Salop.	1,755	—	—	235	—	—	—
Cheshire ...	X	—	—	64½	—	—	—
Derby	862	151¼	106	68	—	—	8
Notts.	1,991	208¼	83	304¾	18¼	21½	11½
Yorks.	X	93½	162	423½	—	274½	40
Lincoln ...	4,712	400	460	533	—	—	—
Essex	3,920	332½	584	858½	126¾	—	4
Norfolk ...	4,853	X	1,032	685¼	45½	3½	—
Suffolk	X	X	562	X	81	32¾	—
	70,606	9,686¾	13,577	18,299½	1,987¼	2,492½	542¼

My figures in column 4 differ from those given by Mr. Pearson (*Hist. Eng.*, i. 665), because (i.) he includes all the payments arising from the counties, while I omit those arising from the counties as wholes, and from the boroughs; (ii.) he has counted values alone, while I have reckoned the rents, and have included the values only where no rents are recorded; (iii.) he has very properly translated

"blanch money" into "computations by tale" at the rate of £1 6*s*. by tale for every £1 "blanch," according to the Bosham record. I have added blanch and tale together. (iv.) In giving my totals I have omitted shillings and pence, and have given the figures to the nearest pound.

(1) Including one night's farm at £110 and five at £100.

(2) Including four nights' farm at £100 each.

(3) The royal manors in Beds. also rendered 1½ day's farm, which, if their value was known, should be added to this sum.

(4) The rents of the royal manors in Warwick were included in the farm of the county (£145), and are not given separately as in other counties.

(5) The city and royal manors and pleas of the hundred and shire produced £305 15*s*. a year.

The letter X signifies that no calculations have been made of the figures which should appear in these columns.

The figures in column 3 are taken from *D. B. and B.*, 400.

By "survivors" in column 8 is meant those tenants *in capite* who in 1086 were the men or the widows or sons of those who held the same lands in 1066.

TABLE B.

Church Lands.

	Hides, 1066.	Teams, 1086.	Knights, 1156.		Hides, 1066.	Teams, 1086.	Knights, 1156.
A. Bishops' Lands—				B. Monastery Lands—			
Canterbury	992½	1631¼	60	Abingdon ...	606¼	376	30
York ...	1145¾	910¾	20	Bath ...	90½	80¼	20
Chester ...	285	357	15	Battle ...	85½	134½	—
Chichester ...	168¼	148	4	Chertsey ...	295	179	3
Durham ...	310½	166	10	Ely ...	308⅓	535	40 (Bishop)
Exeter ...	328	909½	17½				
Hereford ...	411½	796	15	Evesham ...	152½	238	5
Lincoln ...	725½	542	60	Glastonbury	891½	683½	40
London ...	215½	529½	20	Gloucester ...	105½	211	—
Rochester ...	61⅔	118	—	Hyde Abbey (Winchester)	466	260	20
Salisbury ...	603	455¾	32	Malmesbury	296	244½	3
Thetford ...	—	221 (Norfolk)	40 (Norwich)	Pershore ...	127	169	—
Wells ...	302½	339½	—	Peterborough	329½	476	60
Worcester ...	567	1000	50	Ramsey ...	310¼	440¾	4
				St. Albans ...	167	216	6
				Shaftesbury	372½	302½	7
				Westminster	583½	597½	15 (?)

Note.—The figures in column 3 are taken from *F. E.*, 249, 251.

TABLE C.

County.	Tenants *in Capite.*	Mesne tenants having agriculturists under them.	Villans.	Bordars and Cottars.	Slaves.	Sokemen.	Freemen.	Burgesses.	Miscellaneous.	Total.
Bedford	104	229	1,829	1,132	474	107	—	—	—	3,875
Berks.	80	185	2,623	2,577	792	—	—	—	67	6,324
Bucks.	70	223	2,893	1,336	833	20	—	26	19	5,420
Cambs.	45	257	1,907	2,164	548	213	—	29	41	5,204
Cheshire	2	167	797	635	373[1]	—	42	57	276	2,349
Cornwall	7	97	1,730	2,355	1,160	—	—	—	89	5,438
Derby	25	75	1,840	719	20	128	—	140	94	3,041
Devon	77	402	8,070	4,936	3,295	—	—	274	390	17,434
Dorset	146	195	2,613	3,338	1,234	—	—	163	118	7,807
Essex	95	520	4,087	8,002	1,768	520	314	601	153	16,060
Gloucester	102	166	3,661	1,792	2,128	6	16	103	392	8,366
Hampshire	128	174	3,416	3,466	1,458	—	—	281	109	9,032
,, New Forest ...	17	17	66	87	22	—	—	—	8	217
,, Isle of Wight ...	37	45	360	441	232	—	—	—	1	1,124
Hereford	37	282	2,124	1,436	894[1]	—	15	27	453	5,368
Hertford	55	184	1,831	1,944	550	41	8	137	177	4,927
Huntingdon	35	85	1,933	490	—	22	—	296	53	2,914
Kent	13	212	6,597	3,482	1,148	44	—	661	58	12,205
Leicester	53	196	2,665	1,345	423	1,914	—	65	111	6,772
Lincoln	92	414	7,723	4,024	—	11,504	—	1,350	194	25,301
Middlesex	30	62	1,141	807	112	—	—	46	104	2,302
Norfolk	63	435	4,658	9,541	995	4,588	4,485	2,064	258	27,087
Northampton	66	261	3,952	2,056	866	1,062	3	87	88	8,441
Nottingham	50	138	2,603	1,101	28	1,516	—	180	70	5,686
Oxford	84	207	3,545	1,889	963	—	26	1	60	6,775
Rutland	7	4	730	109	—	5	—	—	7	862
Shropshire	9	199	1,801	1,190	1,307[1]	—	14	121	439	5,080
Somerset	80	368	5,298	5,140	2,110	—	—	481	287	13,764
Stafford	32	138	1,728	912	213	—	13	48	94	3,178
Suffolk	74	625	2,814	6,226	913[1]	1,060	7,460	940	379[2]	20,491
Surrey	44	108	2,363	1,208	478	—	—	175	7	4,383
Sussex	15	534	5,898	3,262	420	—	—	260	21	10,410
Warwick	55	176	3,500	1,775	879	—	19	32	138	6,574
Wilts.	156	285	3,049	4,451	1,539	—	—	295	374	10,150
Worcester	28	129	1,520	1,788	851[1]	—	4	151	154	4,625
York	105	222	5,079	1,835	—	447	2	120	110	8,055
Totals ...	1,400	7,871	108,456	88,952	26,362	23,090	12,423	7,968	5,296	283,24

[1] Includes Bovarii.

[2] Including 207 persons living around St. Edmund's Abbey (see p. 93).

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION AND EXTENSION OF FRONTISPIECE

de Iuri
ROGERI*US* ten*et* de ep*iscop*o HARDINTONE. H*oc* est de eccl*esi*a Eglesham. Ibi s*unt* ix hid*ae* & dim*idia*. T*erra* e*st* ix car*ucis*. N*un*c in d*omi*nio ii car*ucae* & xx vill*ani* cu*m* iii bord*ariis* h*ab*ent vii car*ucas*. Ibi cc ac*rae* p*ra*ti
ti i
xx min*us* & q*uater* xx ac*rae* pastur*ae*. Ibi q*uid*a*m* Maino habuit i hid*am* & quo vol*ebat* ire poterat. Tot*um* T. R. E. val*ebat* x lib*ras*.
Modo cu*m* piscaria & cu*m* p*ra*tis val*et* xiiii lib*ras*.

Rob*ertus* ten*et* de inland ep*iscop*i ii hid*as* in WICHA*M*. T*erra* est iii car*ucis*. N*un*c in d*omi*nio ii car*ucae* & iiii servi & v vill*ani* h*ab*ent i car*ucam* & dimid*iam*. Ibi molin*us* de xxx solid*is*. Valuit lx sol*idos*. Modo c solid*os*.

Ibi fuer*unt* v car*ucae* T. R. E. In d*omi*nio iii
Sauuold*us* ten*et* de ep*iscop*o STOCH. H*oc* e*st* de feudo S. MARI*A*E Lincolie. Ibi v hid*ae*. T*erra* e*st* v car*ucis*. N*un*c
e
in d*omi*nio de hac t*erra* iii hid*ae* & ibi ii (*duae*) car*ucae* & molin*us* ix solid*orum* & v den*ariorum* & v servi & xxxvi ac*rae* p*ra*ti. Valuit xx solid*os*. Modo l solid*os*. Aluui lib*e*re tenuit.

In BALDENTONE ten*et* de ep*iscop*o Iseuuard*us* v hid*as* & Bristeua ii hid*as* & dimid*iam*. T*erra* e*st* vii car*ucis*. Ibi x

villani cum iii servis habent vi carucas & ibi i acram prati. T. R. E. valebat iiii libras. Modo vii libras.

VII TERRA EPISCOPI BAIOCENSIS.

EPISCOPUS BAIOCENSIS tenet de rege CUMBE. Ibi est i hida. Terra est iiii carucis. Nunc in dominio ii carucae & ii servi & vi villani cum vi bordariis habent iii carucas. Ibi molinus de iii solidis & xv acrae prati. Silva i leuga & dimidia longa & tantumdem lata. Valuit vi libras. Modo x libras. Aluuinus & Algarus libere tenuerunt.

Idem episcopus tenet DADINTONE. Ibi sunt xxxvi hidae. Terra est xxx carucis. In dominio fuerunt xi hidae & dimidia praeter inland. Modo sunt in dominio xviii hidae & dimidia & ibi sunt x carucae & xxv servi & lxiiii villani cum x bordariis habent xx carucas. Ibi iii molini de xli solidis & c anguillis.

INDEX

(*An* H. *after the name of a place indicates a reference to the hundred.*)

Abbotsbury, Abbot of, 193
Abingdon, Abbot of, 33, 104, 129, 130, 225, 235, 263
Abington (Cambs.), 48, 244
Acre, 31
Acton (Cheshire), 83
Adam fitz Hubert, 13
Adderbury, 194, 231
Adscriptitius glebæ, 110, 154
Ættune, 50, 53
Agricultural co-operation, 35; operations, 205
Agriculture, expenses of, 232
Ailestebba, H. (Dorset), 41
Akeley (Bucks.), 106
Alan, Earl of Richmond, 96, 180, 249
Alciston (Sussex), 67
Aldbury (Glos.), 100
Aldwick, H., 47
Aldwinckle (Northants), 229
Alfgar, Earl, 59, 94, 123, 127, 138
Alfred, King, 32, 45, 179; Treaty with Guthrun, 135
Alfred, Black, 92, 217
Alfred of Marlborough, 179
Alli, 142
Allodarius, 140, 141, 145
Allodium, 140
Alnoitune, 44
Alselin, Geoffrey, 100, 149
Alton (Hants.), 246
Alvertune (Yorks.), 53, 238
Amber (a measure), 27
Amberley, 196
Amesbury, 223
Ancilla, 151
Ansculf, William fitz, 17, 21
Ansgar the Staller, 99, 138, 139, 149, 150
Annona, 75, 194
Antecessor, 5
Appropriation of churches, 191
Arbitrary consecration of tithes, 188, 191
Archinfield, 74, 197–200
Area under cultivation, 211, 212
Arpent, 183
Arundel Castle, 97, 179; mill, 29, 172; rape, 76, 99
Assarts, 168, 257
Assize of arms, 10
Atiscros, H. (Cheshire), 200
Augmentum, 75, 239
Aula, 50, 60
Auretone, 179, 180
Avera (carrying service), 115, 139
Aylesbury, 171, 193; hundred, 145
Aylesford, Lathe, 80
Azor the Steward, 5, 115

Babenberg, H. (Suffolk), 113, 143
Babingley, 41
Bacon pig, 204, 226
Bademondesfield (Suffolk), 59

Bailiffs' accounts, 209, 228, 235
Baldwin fitz Herlwin, 100
Baldwin, sheriff of Huntingdon, 75
Bampton, 181, 194; hundred, 68
Banbury, 38, 61, 101, 246
Barchurch, 78
Barctune, 53
Barford (Oxon.), 48
Barking, Abbess of, 125, 162
Barnby (Suffolk), 123
Barnham (Sussex), 186
Barrington, H. (Glos.), 67
Barstaple (Essex), 166; hundred, 150, 167
Barton (Glos.), 223, 225
Barton (Cambs.), 62
Barton (Norfolk), 218
Barton Stacey (Hants), 223
Basingbourne (Cambs.), 244
Basingstoke, 181, 191, 223; hundred, 145
Bath Abbey, 33, 90, 263
Battle, Abbot of, 67, 79, 90, 248, 263
Battle, contra Norrenses, 4
Battle, Naval, 4; of Hastings, 4; of Standard, 9; at York, 4
Bedwin, 223
Bede, 32, 45, 64
Bedell, 155, 259
Bedford, 20
Bedfordshire, 12, 56, 72, 87, 89, 94, 245, 262, 264
Beddingham (Sussex), 224
Bedretune, 227
Beeding (Sussex), 224
Begberie, H., 68
Belchamp (Essex), 121
Bellingham, Ordmar of, 14
Benefice, 195
Beneficial hidation, 242–245
Benfleet, 134, 147, 190
Bengeworth, 102
Benson (Oxon.), 194
Bentley, 217
Berewick, 53, 59, 60
Bergholt, 123, 148, 217
Berkeley, 59
Berkhampstead, 156, 239
Berkshire, 12, 46, 69, 98, 168, 249, 250, 252, 253, 262, 264
Bernungham, 59
Bersted, 47
Berton, South (Hants), 3
Berwick, 115, 120
Betone (Glos.), 184, 248
Betting-House Acts, 81
Bexhill, 219
Bicester, 48
Bichamdike, 118
Biggleswade, H., 145
Bilsham (Sussex), 186
Binsted, 185, 186
Birdham, 174
Bishampton, 192
Bishop of Bayeux, 30, 74, 86, 88, 93, 95, 97, 98, 105, 131, 140, 183, 219, 238, 247, 262, 266
Chester, 89, 97, 196, 249, 263
Chichester, 89, 263
Coutances, 13, 18, 88, 99, 149, 172
Durham, 89, 263
Exeter, 15, 89, 215, 263
Hereford, 249, 263
Lincoln, 38, 89, 101, 104, 174, 263
London, 46, 48, 83, 89, 90, 93, 104, 263
Rochester, 89, 131, 263
Salisbury, 89, 263
Thetford, 89, 141, 195, 263
Winchester, 13, 47, 49, 89, 104, 110, 231
Worcester, 39, 66, 89, 90, 102, 104, 117, 131, 166, 168, 193, 219, 263
Bishopescote (Beds.), 67
Bishopstrev, 200
Bisley, 131
Black Bourton (Oxon.), 231
Blackburn, 122
Bladon, 183, 209
Blafield, 83
Blakenham, 222
Blanch money, 27
Bledlow, 172

Bloodwite (the fine for drawing blood), 82
Bloxham, 134, 194
Blund, Robert, 36
Blythborough, 225
Boat and net, 176
Bodmin, 181
Bognor, 47
Boldon, 233 ; Book, 21, 233
Boon day, 116 ; work, 109, 123
Bordar, 30, 90, 112, 132, 133, 143, 150, 152, 259, 264
Bordesdon (Herts), 149
Borough, 176–178, 181
Borred, 99, 149
Borton (Essex), 57, 217
Bosham, 27, 91, 189, 210, 228
Bosworth, 185
Bot, 78
Bottisham, 62
Bovarius, 151
Bovate, 40
Boycot (Oxon.), 69
Bracton, 162
Braiose, William of, 99, 192, 224, 244
Bramber, Church of St. Nicholas, 192 ; rape, 76, 99
Bramdean, 106
Brantestun, 126
Breaston (Derbys.), 149
Brede, 91
Bremesse, H., 70
Bretwalda, 65
Breve, 16
Brictric, 86, 131
Bricklehampton, 132
Bridetone, 52, 191, 223
Bridport, 191
Bristol, 18, 110
Brize Norton, 146, 147
Broadwater, H., 145
Broadway, 28
Broadwell, 62
Broclega, 54
Bromley, 114
Bromsgrove, 182
Brook, 79
Broughton (Hunts), 36, 82, 246
Broughton (Oxon.), 62
Broughton Poggs, 62
Buckfastleigh, Abbot of, 177
Buckinghamshire, 12, 17, 56, 67, 72, 95, 96, 98, 238, 245, 252, 253, 262, 264
Buckland, 170
Bullingdon, H., 68
Bulverhythe, 176
Buraston, 81
Burchard, 123
Burford (Worcs.), 81
Burgelle, 78
Burgesses, 176-178, 180, 264
Burhbot (the liability to repair the boroughs), 78, 177, 180
Buri, 154
Burnham, 48
Burstead, 166
Burton, Abbot of, 16, 90, 194
Burton Chartulary, 157, 162, 192, 193, 246
Burwardescote, 243
Burwell, 231
Burwell, Adam of, 14
Byelaws, 8, 9

Caen, Church of Holy Trinity, 91 ; of St. Stephen, 91
Caerleon, 197
Calne, 41, 223
Cambas, 186
Cambridgeshire, 12, 15, 34, 56, 61, 89, 94, 127, 167, 224, 253, 262, 264 ; hundreds of, 61, 63, 244 ; Inquest, 13, 15, 19, 21, 26, 34, 61, 124, 136, 146, 171, 189, 201, 234 ; jurors of, 14, 21, 107, 155, 165, 176, 184, 201, 214 ; sokemen of, 114, 115, 120, 121, 122, 144, 146 ; team in, 34
Canterbury, 73, 116 ; Archbishop of, 89, 91, 101, 104, 167, 222, 249, 263
Caput manerii, 59, 247
Carl.on (Lincs.), 190

Carlton (Beds.), 148
Carpenters, 156
Carucage of Richard II., 254
Carucate, 40, 207; as in Normandy, 42, 199
Carucated shires, 40
Cary, 110
Castellary, 179, 180
Castle, 178–180; guard, 180
Castle Clifford, 179
Censarii, 159
Censores, 157
Censuarii, 157
Ceorl, 111
Cerebury, 224
Cerne, 129
Cervisiarii, 157
Cess, 222
Ceventun, 54
Chadlington, 232
Chantry, 189
Chapel, 186
Charford, 154, 216
Charlton, 47
Chatteris Abbey, 138
Checkendon, 63
Cheeseworkers, 157
Cheltenham, 225
Cheninchall, 83
Chertsey, Abbey of, 18, 124, 175, 263
Cheshire, 12, 42, 72, 73, 79, 83, 88, 94, 97, 151, 167, 176, 197, 262, 264
Chester, 8, 20, 78, 196, 249; Earl Hugh of, 17, 20, 96, 97, 126, 197
Chippenham (Cambs.), 202
Chippenham, William of, 14
Chippenham (Wilts.), 223
Chipping Norton, 48
Chirchetone, 53
Chistelestone, H., 78
Chivage, 161
Christian Malford, 129
Church, as landowner, 88, 262; collegiate, 185; of manor, 186; in village, 184–200
Church-shot, 163, 193
Churches, pre-Conquest, 178, 185
Circuits, 12
  East Midland, 12, 13, 56, 114
  Northern, 12
  South Eastern, 12, 31, 140, 243
  South Western, 12, 17, 31, 151. 184, 201, 249
  West Midland, 12
  Western, 12, 13, 31
Cirencester, 116, 163, 225
Clacton, 104
Clamores, 216, 261
Clapham, 99
Clavering, H., 71, 79
Claybury, 51
Clayley, H., 72
Clifton, 117, 118
Clinton, 26
Clothall, 124
Clothing of the monks, 90
Clopeham (Beds.), 217
Clopton (Cambs.), 244
Cokeley, 127
Coleburne, 129
Coleham, 188
Coleshill, 93
Coliberti, 154
Collectors of geld, 250
Collegiate churches, 185
Colness, H., 144, 171
Colston, 52
Combe (Oxon.), 30, 151, 166, 169, 172, 174, 208, 209, 212, 229, 234, 252
Combe (Surrey), 141
Comberton, 62
Comital manors, 96
Commendation, 112, 125, 127
Commissioners' names, 13
Common field, 34, 35
Compton Little, 66
Condover, H., 78, 145
Constabularia, 103
Copford, 113
Copleford, 197
Copthorn, H., 120
Corbett, Mr. (quoted), 68, 245, 254
Corby, H., 145

Cormeilles, St. Mary of, 70, 191
Corn, yield of, 208
Cornwall, 7, 12, 32, 65, 95, 98, 151, 181, 219, 253, 262, 264
Cosham, 154
Cotes (Warwick), 79
Cotswolds, 65
Cottager, 109, 111, 133, 152, 266. *See also* Bordar
Cottenham, 129
County. *See* Shire
County borough, 20, 176–178
Count of hundred, 70; of shire, 74; of wapentake, 71
Cozets, 157
Crediton, 39, 44
Crewkerne, 154
Crimsham, 47
Cromhall, 128
Cropredy, 61, 101, 105
Crowland, 18, 220; Abbot of, 175, 226
Crowmarsh, 63, 248
Croydon (Cambs.), 244
Culford, 202
Cultivation, course of, 205, 206; expenses of, 230
Cumberland, 73
Cunuche, 105
Curia, 50
Customs of soke, 117, 118
Cutslow, 230
Cuxham, 209, 238

Dagenham, Agnes of, 162
Damardestun, 59
Danegeld, 6, 248, 251, 253, 254
Dartford, 187
Deacon, 185
Dean, Forest of, 169
Deddington, 30, 166, 169, 172, 174, 229, 246, 252
Deer Hay, 122
Deerhurst, Abbey of, 66, 91; hundred, 47, 66
Defford, 132
Degradation of freeholders, 147
Demesne, 30, 55, 56, 101, 112
Dena (Beds.), 56
Denbigh, 197
Denys, St., of Paris, 47, 66, 91
Dependent churches, 187
Derby, 185, 194
Derby, West, 122
Derbyshire, 12, 26, 40, 52, 80, 89, 94, 96, 151, 167, 182, 188, 253, 262, 264
Dersingham, 123
Descriptio, 15, 16, 251
Detached portions of hundreds, 69
Devonshire, 7, 12, 32, 46, 64, 65, 86, 97, 253, 262, 264
Dialogus de Scaccario, 161, 235
Diet, 209
Dillington, 163
Dimplei, 224
Disputed titles, 215–217
Diss, 225; half-hundred, 83
Ditcher, 156
Ditton, 105, 120
Doddington, 175
Dodintree, H., 64
Domesday Book, custody of, 20; description of MSS., 19; index to landowners, 20; names for, 16; publication of, 20
Dorchester, 223
Dorchester (Oxon.), 101, 104, 174
Dorsaeta, 73
Dorset, 7, 12, 73, 78, 172, 222, 223, 245, 248, 252, 262, 264
Dover, 4, 69, 174
Down, The (Isle of Wight), 146
Drayton (Bucks.), 180
Dreng, 122
Droitwich, 28, 182, 191
Dudestan, H., 145
Dunne, 100
Dunwich, 175
Durham, 73, 96
Durnford, 102

Earls, 94, etc.; third penny of, 97
Earley, H., 72

Eastbourne, 224
Eastergate, 186
Eaton, 175
Ebrige, 50, 260
Ecclesiolæ, 187
Eckington, 132
Edburgeton, 202
Edith the Fair, 121
Edith, Queen, 86, 91, 246
Edgar Atheling, 1
Edgar, King, laws of, 70; charter of, 71
Edivestone, H., 67
Edward, King, the Confessor, 1, 2, 77, 86, 87, 91, 261
Edward, King, the Elder, 33, 110
Edwin, Earl, 53, 166
Edwin, King of Northumbria, 64
Eia, 141
Eling, 167, 168, 223
Ellis, Sir Henry, 20, 157, 168, 186, 210, 246
Elpethorpe, 84
Elsi fitz Caschin, 80
Ely, Abbot of, 18, 90, 104, 113, 116, 120, 121, 123, 125, 128, 129, 144, 175, 215, 263; Inquest, 13, 15, 21, 34, 129, 130; hundreds of, 68
Emmeswelle, 166
Encroachments, 214–220
Englefield, 200
English Chronicle quoted, 2, 6, 7, 254; survivors, 6, 100, 262
Erringham, 192
Eschalers, Hardouin of, 18, 49, 215
Escheat, 86
Esher, 124, 126
Essex, 12, 15, 19, 31, 38, 50, 51, 54, 55, 84, 88, 93, 95, 113, 121, 166, 169, 170, 178, 184, 201, 216, 218, 253, 262, 264
Estrild, a monk, 36
Ethelred II., 6
Eu, Count of, 67, 99, 219
Eustace, Count of Boulogne, 44, 48, 140, 201
Eversden, 123
Eversholt (Beds.), 147
Evesham, 152; Abbot of, 13, 74, 81, 102, 128, 193, 263
Ewias, 132, 179, 180
Exeter Domesday, 6, 15, 21, 30, 44, 129, 151, 201
Exeter, Osbern Bishop of, 15, 215
Eynsham, 101

Facsimile, 21
Fairness of Commissioners, 219
Family holding, 33
Fareham, 243
Farm, King's, 134, 135; of shire, 75
Farmer's calendar, 206
Farnham (Surrey), 47
Farnham (Bucks.), 173
Farthing, 26
Fealty, oath of, 124
Fécamp Abbey, 91, 99
Fecchenham (Herefd.), 191
Fech, 51
Fee, 140
Felpham, 176, 186
Ferding, 32
Ferraria, 183
Ferrars, Henry of, 13, 76, 96, 179
Ferry, 183
Fetcham, 174
Feudal tenures, 87
Figuli, 157
Fihtwite (fine for fighting), 83
Finchampstead, 226
Fines on sale, 126
Firma, 116, 131, 226; "unius noctis," 223, 235, 239, 245, 262
Fiscal purpose of D.B., 6–11
Fishborough, H., 64
Fishbourne, 174
Fishermen, 156
Fishery, 174–176
Five-hide unit, 61, 69, 101
Flambard, Ralph, 69, 250
Flamingdike, H., 149
Flemingston, 54, 116
Fletham, H., 67
Flint, 197

Foldsoke, 83, 116
Folkland (land held by folkright), 143
Folsham, 202
Food-rent, 198–199, 223
Fordham, 115; Robert of, 14
Fordwell, 83
Fordwich, 97
Foreign Abbeys, 91
Forests, 168
  St. Leonard's, 165
  Ashdown, 165
Forestel, 82
Forfeitures, 4, 115
  for non-payment of geld, 249
Fornham, 54, 56
Foxham, 163
Franland wapentake, 72
Freefolk (Hants), 136
Freeholders, 121, 133, 137, 161
Freeman, Prof., quoted, 2, 3, 10, 16, 72, 94, 197, 216
Freemen, 112, 116, 133, 134, 135, 137, 145, 264
French-born burgesses, 249
Fulbrook, 48
Fumagium, 199
Furlong, 42
Furness, 73
Fyrd, 69, 102
Fyrdwite (fine for neglecting the fyrd), 78, 83, 102

Gablatores, 157
Gadre, H., 68
Gafol, 108, 129, 223, 232, 234
Gafolgelder, 108, 111, 133, 138
Gangsdown (Oxon.), 115
Garsington, 35, 247
Gateley, 123
Gayton, 53, 56
Geatfled's will, 110
Gebur, 109, 111, 133, 135, 143, 153, 155, 232
Geld, 242–254; Inquests, 6, 7, 64, 134, 245, 246, 249
Geneat, 109, 111, 133, 135, 143, 155
Geoffrey of Mandeville, 99, 149, 150
Geretreu wapentake, 72
Geritone, H., 67
Gersuma, 222
Gethampton (Oxon.), 63
Getune (Herefd.), 75
Gifard Osbern, 100
Gifard, Walter, 13, 56, 96, 130, 231
Gillingham, 191
Glastonbury, Abbot of, 90, 104, 129, 263
Glebe, 188
Gloucester, Abbey of, 175, 263; city of, 26, 176; gemot at, 7
Gloucestershire, 12, 42, 65, 73, 89, 95, 98, 197, 223, 253
Go where they would, 113, 120, 130
Godiva, Countess, 80
Godwin, Earl, 95, 131
Goring (Oxon.), 63
Gorleston, 125
Gosecote wapentake, 72
Grantchester, 62
Grantham, 59, 60
Gratenton (Oxon.), 49
Gravelinges, 169
"Graviter et miserabiliter," 100
Greenhow, H., 79
Grentmaisnil, Hugh of, 100
Grimsby, 183
Grimston (Suffolk), 144
Grostete, Bishop, 235
Gunfordebi, 60
Guort, 176
Gurgites, 175
Gurth, Earl, 79, 94, 123, 195, 217
Guthlacistan wapentake, 72
Guy, Count of Ponthieu, 2, 92
Gwent, 197–201
Gwestva, 198, 223, 235
Gytha, Countess (wife of Earl Godwin), 86

Hadam, 116
Hadfield Broad Oak, 117, 171, 190, 222
Haiæ, 167
Halfpenny, 26
Halgetun, 116

Hall, 49, 50, 60, 83
Hallow, 132, 163
Halstead, 54
Hamlets, 45
Hamo, Sheriff of Kent, 18
Hampshire, 12, 100, 140, 142, 145, 223, 245, 252, 262, 264
Hampton (Worcs.), 102
Hampton, Oxon, 48
Hamsocn, 83
Handborough, 209
Hanningfield, 125
Hardouin of Eschalers, 18, 49, 215
Hardwick (Glos.), 66
Harold, Earl, 2, 3, 9, 86, 91, 92, 95, 97, 120, 123, 138, 140, 150, 176, 197, 220
Harrow, 188
Hascoius Musard, 17
Hastings, battle of, 2, 4, 9, 95; castellary of, 219; rape of, 76, 99
Hatley (Cambs.), 244
Hawcombe Wood, 166
Hawks, 103, 239, 240; nests, 167
Hawkesborough, H., 67
Hayling Island, 3
Headington, 194
Hearthpenny, 109, 143, 152
Hecham, H., 67
Heinfare, 82
Heir, Norman, of Englishman, 5
Heletone, H., 145
Helston, 202
Hemegratham, 54, 116
Heming's Cartulary, 114, 120
Hemingford, 247
Henbury, 223
Henhert, H., 67
Henies, 218
Henry I., laws of, 24, 45, 154; charter to London, 118
Henry II., 10, 204
Herbagium, 171
Hereford, city of, 78, 241; Earl of, 95
Herefordshire, 12, 16, 65, 70, 73, 74, 89, 95, 145, 151, 168, 169, 197, 262, 264
Hereswode, 166
Hereward, 96, 226
Heriot, 126
Herlavestune, 59
Herlege, 243
Herman, Bishop of Salisbury, 127
Hersham, 82; hundred, 79
Herstingstone, H., 64, 246
Hertford, H., 145, 166, 195
Hertfordshire, 12, 15, 72, 89, 95, 145, 262, 264; sokemen of, 115, 120, 122
Hesilinge, Hugh of, 14
Hiboldestone, 53
Hidated shires, 40
Hidcote, 128
Hide, 30, 43, 108
Hinctune, 242
Hitchin, 3, 116, 206, 217
Hocheslau, H., 67
Hochinton, 120
Holding freely, 115, 120; of the King, 115, 119, 120
Honey, 75, 168, 199, 200, 204, 240
Honour, earl's, 97
Horndon, 48, 51, 55, 136, 137, 202
Horningsworth, 54
Houghton Regis, 225, 241
Hounds, 103, 239, 240
Hoxne, 90
Huepstede, 54
Hugh de Porth, 101, 147, 154, 216
Hugh, Earl of Chester, 17, 20, 96, 97, 126, 197
Hugh fitz Grip, 75
Hugh of Grentmaisnil, 100
Hugh of Montfort, 123, 186, 218
Hugh the Steerman, 50, 260
Hulme Abbey, 92
Humiliart, H., 189
Hundred, 61; moot, 70; pleas of, 78; Rolls, 160; rubrics of, 17; soke of, 194
Hundred's man, 64, 249
Huntingdonshire, 12, 17, 31, 56, 89, 94, 151, 216, 245, 262, 264
Hurstbourne Tarrant, 193, 223

Hustedene, 18
Hwiccas, 64, 89
Hyde Abbey, 263

Iffley, 174
Ifield, 64
Income of William I., 87, 262
Incrementum, 75
Index to landowners, 20
Ine's laws, 108, 109, 134
Ingelric, 50
Ingulf, 18, 220
Inland, 59, 90, 246, 257
Invasiones, 121, 214–220
Inquest, Cambridgeshire, 13, 15, 19, 21, 26, 34, 61, 124, 136, 146, 171, 189, 201, 234
Inquest, Domesday, 13
Inquest, Ely, 13, 15, 21, 34, 129
Ipsden, 63
Ipswich, 222
Irenchester, 99
Ironworkers, 157
Isle of Wight, 100, 142
Islip, 229, 255–261
Itchen, 219
Ivry, Roger of, 48, 98, 147, 230, 231, 265

Judith, Countess, 95, 170
Juger, 42

Kempsford, 170
Kencot, 62
Kenebrook, 144, 221
Keneworth, H., 68
Kennet, 189, 201 ; Nicholas of, 14, 201
Kensington, 188
Kent, 12, 42, 80, 89, 95, 97, 98, 101, 116, 141, 154, 195, 252, 253, 262, 264
Kettering, 233
Keworth, 54
Kidlington, 229
Kingsclere, 223
Kingston (Glos.), 70
Kingston-on-Thames, 176
Kintbury, H., 145
Kirtlington, 194
Knights, 101
Knighton (Isle of Wight), 146

Labour rents, 109, 132, 136
Labourer, wage, 153
Lachentun, 170, 202
Lackford, 54, 113, 116, 143
Laleford, 224
Laleham, 36
Lambeth, 92
Lammas meadows, 172
Lancashire, 26, 40, 61, 73, 122
Lanfranc, Archbishop, 13, 74, 92, 131
Lapworth, 193
Larceny, 80, 82
Lashbrook, 173
Lathe (of Kent), 76
Laughton, 67
Launceston, 181, 219
Lavendon, 142
Laverstoke, 93
Lead-mines, 182
League, 42
Leatherhead, 208
Lege, 247
Legrewite, 82
Leicester, 72
Leicestershire, 12, 20, 38, 40, 71, 89, 94, 252, 253, 262, 264
Leighton Buzzard, 225, 241
Lel, 51
Lene, 156
Leofstanstun, 144
Leofwin, Earl, 56, 86, 95, 97, 124
Leofwin of Nuneham, 100
Leominster, 47, 132, 153, 155, 167, 168, 222
Letheringsett, 59
Leverton, 140
Levy *en masse*, 9, 69
Lew, 231
Lewes, 99, 100, 195 ; Priory, 191 ; rape of, 76, 99 ; tolls at, 110
Lewknor, 238
Leyland, 122

Liability for gaol 134
Liber Niger 66, 68, 137, 233, 235
"Liberi tenentes," 214, 222
Liberty of commendation 213, 214, 215, 221, 223, 226, 231, of sake and soc, of gaol-break 188
Liberty 224
Lie in, 40
Lillingstone Lovell 62
Lincolnshire, 12, 40, 52, 70, 73, 76, 80, 85, 94, 151, 216, 241, 262, 264
Linear measures, 42
Linford (Essex.), 130
Linton, 208
Litle Address 68, 102
Lavenham 180
Lodaric 148
Lollingdon 40, 222
Little Compton, 26
Lomax, 185
Longbeard, 46
London, 58, 178
Lothersdale, 208
Louth, 17, 225, 240

Macclesfield, 173
Maer, 208
Magnates, 83, 201
Maitland, Prof., quoted, 29, 35, 36, 46, 47, 49, 50, 62, 63, 108, 110, 124, 134, 138, 142, 143, 150, 154, 155, 161, 177, 195, 207, 208, 222, 230, 237, 248, 250, 252
Malling, 197
Mall, 75, 205
Malmesbury, Abbot of, 130, 183, 225, 235
Malmsey, 206, 208, 209, 213
Manchet, 199
Manorium, 54
Manstone, 172
Manor, 44, 49, 50, 133; pre-Conquest, in Suffolk, 53
Mansio, 44, 50
Manuductum, 83
Marche, 28, 152, 168, 173
Mark (money), 20
Markets, 209, 285
Marlborough, Statute of, 202
Marsh Gibbon, 220
Marwood, 173
Marston, Queen, 74, 82, 181
Martinsey Farm, 205
Mascalls, 28
Mashow, 209–212
Measures, areal, 52–62; cubic, 37–39; land, 42
Medburne, 244
Medford, 244
Melcote, 50
Mellmark, 237
Membership, 185
Merchet, 196
Mercia, 94
Mersebury, 222
Mesbrewgate, 20
Messer and Fidele, lands between, in Lancashire
Metton, H., 145
Methods of study, 22–25
Michael, St., of Mount, 202
Middle Angle, 62, 245
Middlesex, 12, 20, 35, 39, 72, 85, 86, 93, 130, 152, 154, 167, 174, 177, 178, 188, 202, 245, 252, 253, 262, 264
Middleton Bevis, 148
Middleton (Suffolk), 120
Middleton (Sussex), 180
Milcote, 207
Miles Compta, 26, 213, 217
Military services, 69, 220–225
Mill, 172–174, 254
Milton, 58, 220, 285
Milton Abbey, 228
Mistaken ideas of D. E., 9
Mitre, 27
Mobility of land, 66
Modbus, 27
Molmen, 152
Money, 20, 27
Mongewell, 93
Monmouth, 13
Montfort, Hugh de, 123, 186, 218

Montgomery, 180
Morcar, Earl, 94, 156
Mordun, 49, 244
Mortain, Count of, 17, 67, 92, 95, 98, 186, 218, 219, 224, 262; monks of, 244
Mortimer, Ralph, 51
Mottisfont, 187
Mulcefel, 121
Muleham, 123
Mund, 125
Mundham, 47
Mural mansions, 25, 44, 72
Musard, Hascoius, 17
Mutford (Suffolk), 148, 202

Naval battle, 4
Navestock, 92, 220
Nazenden, 57
Neatham, 181; hundred, 145
Net (fishing), 176
New assessment, 250, 251
New Forest, 100, 167, 168
Newnham Murren, 63
Newton (Devon), 15, 172, 215
Newton (Lancs.), 122
Newton (Lincs.), 59
Newton (Wilts.), 167
Neuesland, H., 67
Nicholas of Kennet, 14, 201
No man's land, 35, 85
Norfolk, 12, 15, 19, 38, 41, 83, 88, 94, 95, 113, 184, 188, 195, 253, 262, 264
Norrenses, battle contra, 4
Northamptonshire, 12, 72, 73, 94, 95, 182, 240, 245, 262, 294
Northern insurgents, 95, 239, 258
Northumberland, 73
Northumbria, 94
Northwich, 182
Norton (Suffolk), 144
Norwich, 188, 195
Nottinghamshire, 12, 40, 52, 59, 80, 82, 89, 94, 151, 253, 262, 264
"Now," explained, 38
Nowton, 54
Nucleated vill, 45
Nuneham, 174
Nuneham, Leofwin of, 100

Oath, value of, 125
Oats, 75, 205
Obolus, 26
Occupationes, 214–220
Oddington, 257
Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, 30, 74, 86, 88, 93, 95, 97, 98, 105, 131, 140, 183, 219, 238, 247, 262
Offa, Charter of, 223
Offences against moral law, 195
Offham, 186
Okehampton, 180
Ollaria, 183
Omenel, 243
Omissions in D. B., 18
Open-field system, 35, 40, 139
Orderic Vitalis, 5, 196, 250
Ordinbaro, H., 67
Ore, 26
Orfrey work, 105, 106
Orsedd, 44
Orwell, 138, 146
Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, 15, 91, 215
Oswaldslaw, H., 64, 66, 68, 71, 81, 102, 117, 118, 131
Otmoor, 256
Ounce, 26, 122
Ouilly, Robert of, 48, 98, 115, 247
Oure (Glos.), 223
Outfit for new gebur, 109
Outlawry, 4
Over (Cambs.), 163, 192
Over-assessment, 252
Ower (Hants), 129
Oxford, 24, 72, 94, 95, 177, 256
Oxfordshire, 12, 17, 46, 58, 63, 68, 75, 86, 94, 95, 117, 185, 194, 206, 211, 229, 230, 238, 239, 245, 248, 252, 253, 262, 264
Oxgang, 40
Oxland (Suffolk), 144

Pagenel, Ralph, 99
Paggrave, 202
Pagham, 47, 222
Pannage, 167, 228
Parage, 141
Parish church, 184; civil, 46
Parochiani, 186
Partial commendation, 126
Particulatim, 35
"Pastum unius noctis," 110
Patronage of churches, 195
Paul's, St., Canons of, 16, 90, 92, 176, 192, 209, 225, 235
Payment by tale, 27; by weight, 27
Peace in the land, time when, 4
Peacebreach, 82
Pelham, 139
Peldon, 215
Penny, 26
Penwortham, 180
Pepys and D. B., 9
Perching, 50
"Perficiendum manerium, ad," 58
Periton, 91
Perquisites of court, 228, 236
Perrott, South, 135, 154, 202
Pershore, Abbot of, 81, 131, 193, 226, 263
Personal nexus of tenements, 10
Pesinges, 147
Peter, the bishop, 93, 196
Peter, St., of Rome, 91
Peter of Valonges, 123, 195
Peterborough, Abbot of, 16, 28, 90, 225, 235, 263
Petersham, 172, 175, 210
Petroc, St., 219, 248
Pevensey, 76, 99; hundred, 67; rape, 76, 99
Phobing, 117
Picot, Sheriff of Cambs., 14, 75, 83, 149, 154, 216
Pieran, St., 219, 226
Piham, 147
Pilesgete, 158
Pimperne, 223, 250
Pinnenden Heath, 74
Pipe Rolls, quoted, 26, 29, 68, 243, 248, 250, 251; of bishopric of Winchester, 236
Pitstone, 56
Playden (Sussex), 236
Pleas of hundred, 78, 240; of shire, 74, 78, 240; in hall, 83; loan of sokemen to hold, 83
Ploughley, H., 68, 69
Porth, Hugh de, 101, 147, 154, 216
Portland, 202
Portsdown, H., 145
Portway, 256
Potters, 157
Pottery, 183
Pound, 26; of pennies, 26
Pratum, 169–172
Pre-Domesday hide in Gloucestershire, 32
Prepositus, 155, 198
Preston (Lancs.), 73
Preston (Sussex), 66
Prices, 27, 74, 149
Priest (social position), 189, 196; English survivors, 196
Private feuds in Wales, 200
Proportion of Church property, 88; of Dominical and tenants' teams, 211; of freeholders, 144–146; of surviving landowners, 6; of Terra Regis, 85
Puddletown, 78
Pulham, 79
Purpose of D. B., 6–11

"Quando recepit," 239
Quarantine, 42
Quarries, 182
Queen Edith, 86, 91, 246
Queen Matilda, 74, 86, 181
Queen, gersuma of, 239, 240
Questions to Cambridgeshire jurors, 11, 14, 21, 30, 44, 85, 107, 155, 165, 176, 184, 201, 214, 221, 237

Radknight, 131
Radman, 116, 131

Ralph Flambard, 69, 250
Ralph Guader, Earl of Norfolk, 88, 95
Ralph Mortimer, 51
Ralph Pagenel, 99
Ralph Piperell, 126, 218
Ralph Taillebois, 67, 173, 249
Ramsey, Abbey of, 82, 90, 92, 118, 123, 163, 175, 192, 217, 263; chartulary of, 36, 118, 233
Rapes of Sussex, 76, 244
Raunds, 99
Ray, River, 255
Rayleigh, 183
Reading, 196, 226; hundred, 145
Recede, 113
Recordin, 78
Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, 109, 133, 143, 151, 152, 163, 171, 211, 233, 259
Redemption of lands, 5
Reedham, 202
Reeve, 155; -land, 75
Relief, 5, 59, 103, 141
Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, 13
Renders of sokes, 117, 118, 223
Rent, 221, 234; in kind, 223, 235
Reod, 54
Restoration of estates, 219
Restraint on commendation, 113, 114, 115, 121, 129, 134
Results of D. B., 249, 250
Retaliation, 77
Rhuddlan, 47, 180, 200
Richmond, 96
Riding, 76
Ringsfield, 148, 195
Rippingale (Lincs.), 226
Risborough, 182
Risby, 54, 112, 116, 137
Risden, 99
Rise in values, 238
Rising, 202
Robert Blund, 36, 126
Robert Malet, 126, 148, 175
Robert of Ouilly, 48, 98, 115, 247
Robert of Rhuddlan, 47
Rochester, 44, 73
Rochford, H., 70, 79, 117
Rodbourne, 243
Rodbridge, H., 142
Rodolei, 166
Rodwell, H., 67
Roger, Bigot, 148
Roger, Earl of Hereford, 86, 96, 197
Roger Montgomery, Earl of Salop., 76, 83, 96, 97, 99, 187, 191, 243
Roger of Ivry, 48, 98, 147, 230, 231, 265; wife of, 256, 261
Roger of Poitou, 61, 217
Roinges, 82
Rollright, 48, 182
Rotation of crops, 205
Rother valley, 170
Round, Mr., quoted, 14, 19, 28, 61, 62, 63, 92, 99, 103, 106, 113, 114, 120, 129, 139, 142, 146, 151, 157, 170, 176, 223, 242, 245, 248, 250, 253
Rudeford, 173
Rushmere, 43
Rutland, 73, 151, 245, 262, 264
Rye, 91

Sabbath-breaking, 8, 196
Sagena, 175
Saham, 175, 224; Warin of, 14
Saints as landowners, 92
St. Alban's, 92, 104, 263
St. Edmund's, 60, 79, 83, 92, 93, 112, 116, 121, 128, 143, 175, 248, 264
St. Etheldreda, 84, 92, 116, 126. *See* Ely, Abbot of
St. German, 181, 219
St. Helena, 170
St. Ives, 234
St. Martin (of Dover), 90, 196
St. Mary (of Barking), 125
St. Mary (of Cormeilles), 70, 191
St. Michael of Mount, 191
St. Ouen, 84
St. Paul's, 16, 90, 92, 176, 192, 209, 225, 235
St. Peter (of Rome), 91
St. Petroc, 219, 248
St. Pieran, 219, 226

St. Stephen (of Caen), 91
St. Vandrille, 191
Saisdon, H., 145
Sake and soke, 77–84, 112, 118
Salford, 61, 122
Salinæ, 182
Salisbury, gemot at, 11, 12
Salmannesberie, H., 66, 68
Salmon, 175
Saltenham, 144
Saltworkers, 156, 182
Sambourne, 41
"Sanctus Paulus invasit," 92, 220
Sandford-on-Thames, 174
Sandwich, 91, 116, 175
Sawbridgeworth, 150, 152
Saxham, 54
Saxlingham, 5
Scot, 49
Scottere, 159
Scotessa, 195
Screveton, 52
Scrutton, Mr., quoted, 49
Sculthorpe, 116, 159
Sea-hedge, 176
Seam (measure), 27
Seasalter, 91
Seebohm, Mr., quoted, 34, 109, 144, 150, 160, 165, 176, 198, 199, 206, 212
Segadri, 250
Selsey, 66; Bishop of, 219
Semibos, 37
"Send into," 126
Sepulture, 187
Serjeants, 105
Services, 119
Servientes, 105
"Servientes curvam," 50, 152, 173, 177
Setlington, 173
Sextary, 27, 28
Shaftesbury Abbey, 263
Shepperton, 188
Sherborne, 41; monks of, 219
Sheriff, 13, 74, 250
Shilling, 26
Shingay, 49, 244
Shipton-under-Wychwood, 182, 194
Shire, 71, etc.; moot, 13, 74; pleas of, 78
Shoeswell, H., 67
Shoreham, 91, 192
Shotover, 168, 255
Shrewsbury, 16, 78, 185, 187, 191, 249
Shrievalty of Wilts, rents of, 28, 75, 194, 204
Shripney, 47
Shropshire, 12, 73, 85, 94, 97, 151, 167, 197, 241, 262, 264
Sibton, 127
Sidlesham, 66
Six forfeitures, 82; of St. Edmunds, 83
Siwate, 102, 141
Slave, 109, 112, 132, 133, 150, 151, 160, 213, 259, 264
Slave-market, 110
Slindon, 186
Slinford, 189
Smiths, 156
Smoke money, 199
Snailwell, Aluric of, 14
Soca regis, 116, 121, 124
Socage, 161
Soke, 117; (contrasted with "sake and soke"), 84, 117
Sokeland, 52, 60, 117
Sokeman, 52, 55, 112, 115, 116, 117, 133, 137, 139, 143, 158, 164, 186, 264
Somerley, H., 66
Somerset, 7, 12, 46, 65, 73, 222, 223, 246, 253, 262, 264
Southease, 175
Southwark, 79
Southwick, 192
Southwold, 202
Sparsholt, 76, 170
Stabilatio, 167
Stafford, 44, 96
Staffordshire, 12, 94, 253, 262, 264
Stake net, 176
Stamford, 126
Standard, Battle of, 9

Staines, H., 62, 145
Stanton Harcourt, 30, 166, 169, 172, 174, 229, 234, 252
Staplebridge, 219
Staplehoe, H., 14
Stepney, 46
Steventon, 221
Steyning, 91, 99, 177, 192; hundred, 64
Stitch, 175
Stigand, 79, 92, 123, 124, 127, 138
Stoke (Oxon.), 63
Stoke (Kent), 131
Stoke (Sussex), 186
Stoke (Worc.), 128
Stoneham, 187
Stoughton (Sussex), 210, 212, 228, 236
Stow (Norfolk), 186, 217
Stow-cum-Quy, 62
Stowood, 168, 256
Stradford, H., 78
Stratton (Staffs.), 159
Stratton (Wilts.), 134
Streatham, 92
Strigoil, fee of, 42
Sub-commendation, 126
Sudbury, 188
Suffolk, 12, 15, 19, 38, 41, 54, 83, 84, 88, 94, 144, 184, 188, 195, 225, 253, 262, 264; bishopric of, 90
Sulung, 42
Sumpter-horse, 240
Sunbury, 188
Surrey, 12, 18, 95, 96, 165, 178, 250, 252, 262, 264
Surviving landowners, 100
Sussex, 12, 32, 46, 47, 73, 87, 98, 99, 140, 145, 146, 165, 171, 182, 211, 242, 243, 245, 252, 253, 262, 264
Sutreshele, 124
Sutton, 113
Sutton Lathe, 80
Suestlingua, 202
Suit of mill, 173; of court, 161–164
Swaffham, 18, 62, 175, 215
Swegen of Essex, 70, 79, 125, 190
Swineherds, 156, 213
Tacitus, quoted, 65
Tadlow, 244
Tadmarton, 101
Taillebois, Ralph, 67, 173, 249
Tallage, 161
Tamworth, 18
Tangmere, 156
Taunton, 81, 102, 110, 192, 193
Tawton, 202
Taylor, Rev. C. S., quoted, 11, 32, 65, 86
Taylor, Canon, quoted, 40, 71
Teams, 30, 33, 43
Tenants *in capite*. *See* Magnates
Tenants' teams, 37, 211
Tendring, 51, 58, 202
Terra, 45
Terra Regis, 85, 238, 262
"Terra Regis de regione," 88
Terling, 218
Testa de Nevill, 106, 261
Tew, 48, 238
Tewkesbury, 58, 59, 181, 247
Tey, 201
Thame, 101
Thaxted, 222
Thegn, 59, 102, 105, 134, 147
Thegnland, 76, 129, 135
"Then," explained, 38
Thetford, 126, 187
Thingoe, H., 54, 113, 143
Third penny of borough, 94, 97; of pleas, 78, 97
Thistledon, 136
Thoresby, 183
Thorley, 124
Thorney (Norfolk), 186, 192
Thorney (Sussex), 92
Thorp, 79
Thrapslow, 215
Thurstan, Bishop, 9
Tilbrook, 56
Tilshead, 223
Tingdene, 67, 117
Titchfield, 181
Tithes, 190
Tochi, 100

Tooting, 93
Tori, 127
Tortington, 186
Torveland, 183
Tostig, 53, 84; Earl, 95
Totnes, 177
Totnore, H., 67
Trematon, 181
Trev, 198
Tribal hidage, 64; settlements, 73
Trichingeham, 59
Tring, H., 72
"Trinoda necessitas," 71, 108, 177
Trochinge, 249
Troy weight of silver, 26
Tuddenham, 189
Tun, 45
Turchil of Warwick, 100
Turstin of Wigmore, 51
Turvey (Beds.), 87
Tutbury, 180

Ulf Senisc, 80
Under-assessment, 7, 252
Upton (Oxon.), 194
Urso, Sheriff of Worcestershire, 75
Utbech, 156

Vades (security), 216
Valonges, Peter of, 123, 195
Valuation list, 8, 9, 242
Value, 57, 221–241
Vavassours, 105
Vicecomes, 74
Victoria County Histories quoted—
  Derby, 26, 189
  Essex, 151, 170, 176
  Hants, 101, 106, 142, 219
  Herts, 140, 146
  Surrey, 250
  Sussex, 186
  Warwick, 100
  Worcester, 28, 66, 74, 102, 114, 120
Vikings, 243
Vill, 45, 198, 199
Village community, 45
Villain, 160
Villan, 30, 55, 112, 132, 133, 134, 135, 143, 150, 153, 158, 216, 259, 264
Vineyards, 183
Vinogradoff, Prof., quoted, 10, 36, 58, 109, 135, 153, 154, 159
Virgate, 31, 109

Wadard, 105
Wadone, 193
Wage-labourers, 153
Wages in kind, 209
Walberton, 186, 196
Walcot, 163
Wales, 42, 73, 197–200
Walesgrif, 53, 84
Walfleet, 60
Wallingford, 80, 239
Wallington, H., 122
Wallop, 190
Walsham, H., 83
Walter Gifard, 13, 56, 96, 130, 231
Walter of Henley, 204–212
Waltham Abbey, 92
Waltheof, Earl, 94, 123, 138
Walton (Suffolk), 144
Wandelmestrei, H., 67
Wantage, 5, 93, 115, 127, 227
Wapentake, 71
Wareham, 191
Warland, 247
Warminster, 223
Warrantor, 125
Warwick, 80, 82
Warwickshire, 12, 66, 71, 74, 79, 94, 240, 252, 253, 262, 264
Washington, 33
Waste, 245
Watereaton, 229, 247, 257
Watone, 182, 249
Weaverham, 173
Weaverthorpe, 84
Weights of stock, 203
Wells, 18
Welsh tribal system, 199
Welshmen, 197–201
Wendy, 244
Wenesi, 106

Wenfleet, 59
Wergild, 77, 110, 135, 143, 152, 154
Wessex, 89, 95
Westbury, 157, 223
Westerfield, 217
Westley, 171
Westminster, 101, 104, 152; Abbey, 66, 80, 90, 91, 92, 93, 104, 132, 191, 193, 261, 263; Provisions of, 161
Westmoreland, 73
Weston, 195
Weston (Norfolk), 79
Wetherley, H., 62, 138
Whaddon, 244
Wheat, price of, 27; yield of, 208
Whitchurch (Dorset), 191
Whitchurch (Hants), 136
Whitchurch (Oxon.), 63
Wickford (Cambs.), 68
Wickham (Herts), 139
Wigmore, 180; Turstin of, 51
Wigot of Wallingford, 261
Wilbraham, 62
Wilcote (Wilts.), 183
Wilge, H., 128
Willesden, 57
William fitz Ansculf, 17, 21, 100
William of Braiose, 99, 192, 224, 244
William of Charnet, 216
William, King, the Conqueror, his income, 11, 87, 262; lands, 11, 58, 85, 262; march to London, 239; standpoint, 1–6
William, King, Rufus, 69, 219, 243, 250
William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford, 51, 73, 92, 95, 128, 179, 191, 197, 199
William of Scocies, 83
William of Warenne, 96, 99, 175, 243
Willingdon, 67
Williton, 110
Wilsaeta, 73
Wilton Abbey, 93, 102
Wiltshire, 7, 12, 32, 71, 73, 222, 223, 240, 245, 252, 253, 262, 264
Wimbourne, 52, 169, 223
Wimbourne Forest, 169
Winchelsea, 91
Winchester, 18, 176; Bishop of, 13, 81, 102, 104, 136; king's house at, 16; St. Mary of, 93, 219; St. Peter of, 175
Windrush, 66
Windsor, 180
Windsor Forest, 169
Winford, 223
Winshall, 159
Winterbourne, 226
Wintone, 224
Wisbech, 175
Wissett, 185
Wite, 77
Witetheow, 110
Witham, 78, 202, 221
Wittering, 66; hundred, 64
Woodchester, 15
Woods, 165–169, 228
Woodstock Forest, 168
Wolford, 66, 208
Wootton, H. (Oxon.), 68, 106
Worcester, 64; Abbey of, 13, 33, 74, 81, 90, 129, 223; Bishop of, 39, 66, 89, 90, 102, 117, 131, 166, 168, 193, 219; Register, 28, 81, 132
Worcestershire, 12, 13, 16, 39, 65, 71, 73, 79, 81, 89, 94, 102, 120, 240, 253, 262, 264
Worksop, 80
Worlingham, 195
Worton (Oxon.), 106
Writtle, 169, 224
Wychwood, 168
Wycombe, 171
Wye (Kent), 79, 116

Yarnton, 172
Yeresyive, 163
Yield of crops, 208
Yoke, 42
York, Archbishop of, 80, 89, 187; battle at, 4
Yorkshire, 12, 18, 40, 41, 50, 52, 71, 73, 76, 80, 84, 88, 151, 216, 238, 262, 264

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
LONDON AND BECCLES.

HECKMAN BINDERY
BOUND TO
OCT 17 1940
PLEASE
N. MANCHESTER, IND.